

Elizabethan England.

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“Elizabethan England” consists of 325 signed and numbered sets, numbered in Vol. I. With Portfolio. Issued to subscribers only.

Also of ten sets unnumbered; which are respectively in the British Museum, Bodleian Library, Cambridge University Library; Trinity College, Dublin; the National Library of Scotland; and in possession of the author.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "John Forster", is written over a large, sweeping, curved line that starts from the bottom left and extends towards the top right of the page.

Elizabethan England:

Being the History of this Country
"In Relation to all Foreign Princes."

FROM ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPTS, MANY HITHERTO UNPUBLISHED;
CO-ORDINATED WITH XVIth CENTURY PRINTED MATTER
RANGING FROM ROYAL PROCLAMATIONS
TO BROADSIDE BALLADS.

A Survey of Life and Literature.

BY

E. M. TENISON

*Officer of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem,
Corresponding Member of the Academy of History of Spain,
& Member of the Society for Nautical Research.*

*With many hundred portraits and other illustrations in collotype,
also title pages and portraits in line.*

*And with PORTFOLIO
of unique Maps, Charts, Documents, etcetera,
relevant to the text, and first published 1932.*

*Issued for the Author
to Subscribers only*

*At the Sign of the Dove with the Griffin,
Royal Leamington Spa, in the County of Warwick.*

MDCCCCXXXVI



DIANA

by Hendrik Cornelisz Vroom

in possession of The Marquess of Salisbury, K.G.

at Hatfield House.

Panel: 43 x 34 inches.

Described in the Inventory of the 1st Earl of Salisbury, A.D. 1611,

as "A PORTRAIT OF HER LATE MAJESTY."

Vroom never saw Queen Elizabeth in her youth, and did not come to England till invited by the Lord High Admiral to paint scenes for the House of Lords' tapestries commemorating the defeat of the Spanish Armada; so this picture is to some extent fanciful.

It is now conjectured at Hatfield that it may have been based on an early painting by a forgotten artist. Possibly it was evolved from some sketch made in April 1558, when Princess Elizabeth, attended by twelve ladies in white satin, and twenty retainers clad in green, met fifty archers on the borders of Hatfield Forest; and was presented with a silver-headed arrow made of peacock's feathers; and was invited to fulfil the rôle of Diana in sports devised for her entertainment by her courtly Catholic gaoler Sir Thomas Pope.

See "*The Youth of Queen Elizabeth*," by Louis Wiesener. Translated by C. M. Younge. (1879). Vol. II. pp. 246-247.

A copy of this picture is at Knobworth House, in possession of the Earl of Lytton; but without record as to when or by whom acquired.

(1) *Frontispiece: E. M. Tenison's "Elizabethan England," vol. V.*

Acknowledgments.

IN Volume I, pp. i-iii, thanks have been rendered to His Majesty the King, and to many other owners of sixteenth century pictures, the reproduction of which is intended to make this History vividly representative of an age when "all things between Heaven and earth that may tend to Wisdom" were eagerly welcomed.

In Book II the treasures of the Marquess of Salisbury, K.G., are again drawn upon; and also the unpublished Dudley MSS of the Marquess of Bath, K.G., the collotype facsimiles of which likewise began in the earlier volumes.

From the collection of one of the first subscribers, the Duke of Portland, K.G., comes the picture of Mary Queen of Scots in Vol. VI. From the late Earl of Warwick, the armour of Robert Dudley, Lord Denbigh, still at Warwick Castle.

The Earl of Lytton, K.G., is to be thanked for the portrait of his ancestor Rowland Lytton, of whose services in the Netherlands our Peerages have been unaware. Lytton's letters from the Front to Lord Burghley, in 1586, and a note from his General, the Earl of Leicester, to the Queen, commanding his zeal and valour, are new even to his own descendants. His picture, lance in hand, 1585, was never photographed until selected for "*Elizabethan England*," Vol. VI. Whether painted in England or in the Low Countries, it shows us a typical "Voluntary Gentleman" of the Horse.

From Major C. E. Radclyffe, of Hyde and Foxdenton, late of the First Life Guards, comes the frontispiece to Vol. VI,—an unpublished "*Elizabetha Regina*" traditionally believed to have been presented by the Queen herself to a Radclyffe Maid of Honour.

From our National Portrait Gallery the painting of Philip II, though already reproduced by the Hakluyt Society, is too fine a work of art to be omitted from the series of characteristic portraits embodied in "*Elizabethan England*."

The National Gallery of Ireland (whence came the remarkable Queen Elizabeth in Volume II) now allows inclusion of the disputed portrait of Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, formerly at Costessy Hall. The reasons for accepting this as authentic are specified with the collotype in Vol. VI.

From Trinity College, Cambridge, Sir Henry Sidney's memoranda in his Psalter; from the Bodleian, a drawing of Walsingham's arms and crest; from the Director of the new National Maritime Museum, Professor Geoffrey Callender, F.S.A., an English MS. note on the shipping in Portugal, after the Spanish

conquest: and from other sources, specified with each illustration, plans of cities, reproductions of title-pages, and various relevant items, the selection of which has necessitated longer care and consideration than the general reader can realise.

For printed matter, it is a pleasure to commemorate the utility of the **London Library**, across a long period of years stretching back to before the Great War.

As to Spain, special thanks are due to the **Director of the Academy of History and President of the Board of the Prado Gallery, the Duke of Berwick and Alba**, the tapestries of whose great ancestor the 3rd Duke of Alba have not hitherto been reproduced in England.

From the Palacio de Liria also comes the "*Verdadera Recopilacion*" by Antonio de Escobar, of which the only known copy was one in the Biblioteca Nacional, until the present Duke discovered this second among his hereditary possessions.

English readers owe gratitude likewise to the **Marquis of Santa Cruz**, who supplies Notes describing the stern-lanterns captured from the adversary flagships at Lepanto and the Azores, by his ancestor, the "never vanquished leader." Familiar as the originals may be to Spaniards, the pictures of them will be new in England.

King Philip's Commission and Instructions to the 1st Marquis of Santa Cruz, 23rd of June, 1584, translated in this volume from the originals in the Palacio de Liria, are believed to be unpublished even in Spain.

To the **Academy of History of Spain**, I offer cordial acknowledgement of the gracious reception given to the first four volumes of "*Elizabethan Englund*."¹ My election on June the 14th, 1935, as a Corresponding Member, is pleasing in proportion to my lifelong admiration for the purposes and principles of the Academy: namely,

*"to encourage the study of every kind of Spanish History, ancient and modern, military, civil, ecclesiastical, and political; and also to stimulate arts, sciences and literature in all branches of culture bearing upon the civilisation of the Spanish race."*²

Book I of this History (Vols. I—IV), also received a cordial welcome from **Señor Don Alvaro Alcalá-Galiano, Marquis of Castel Bravo**,³ who, throughout his long career as a man of letters, has always been friendly to England.

¹ Described by the Academy as "*escrita sin espíritu de partidista*," and as "reconstituting the march of historical events." (Reported in the Madrid "*A.B.C.*" 1st and 5th June, 1935.)

² "*Estatutos y Reglamento de la Real Academia de la Historia*" Madrid, 1899, p. 21 *Artículo primero*.

³ In "*A.B.C.*" Madrid, 28th May, 1935, p. 32. In "*The Mariner's Mirror*," vol. XVIII, no. 2; April, 1932, Professor Geoffrey Callender, F.S.A., described the Portfolio of Maps and Charts, &c., issued ahead of the volumes, and predicted that the presentation of the events in the words of those chiefly concerned would "necessitate a wide revision of existing beliefs."

From Ireland, Dr. Douglas Hyde expresses his hope that "as the evidence is drawn direct from the sources, and as the narrative covers a wider area than any one English historian has attempted for that especial time," this "*Elizabethan England*" will gradually become "known and read in all the civilised world wherever history is sought and cherished."¹ Meanwhile, to all sympathisers who have aided or may yet aid me in this "voluntary homage to Truth," I send my salutation and greeting.

Postscript.

Since setting up in type the foregoing pages, and most of Vol. V, it is reported that the Marqués de Castel Bravo, C.B.E. (better known as Alvaro Alcalá-Galiano), and the Librarian of the Escorial (quoted, p. 185), were both among the many eminent and patriotic Spaniards who have perished tragically in Madrid. Also the Duque de Veragua, representing Christopher Columbus (E.E., Vol. IV, p. 238). Upon the disaster to the Palacio de Liria, see Vol. V, p. 304, note. In a later volume it will be specified which items have survived of the Spanish portraits, frescoes, tapestry, armour, MSS., &c., &c., reproduced in Volumes I to V of "*Elizabethan England*," from Liria, the Prado Gallery, the Escorial, and other renowned collections.

In 1931 the editor of the Hakluyt Society's Vol. LXXI (Ser: ii, p. x), dating from Seville, rebuked "British historians for failure to consult Spanish sources. . . ." Prior to the accession of Alfonso XII it was not easy for foreigners to study Spanish MSS. (see E.E., Vol. I, p. 156). But under that King, and the Queen Regent Maria Cristina, and Alfonso XIII, there has been a crescendo of progress in appreciation of (and facilities for examining) the hereditary treasures: many of which were lent to the Barcelona Exhibition in 1929-30 (including documents now first published, pp. 186, 199-203).

Though at the time of going to press, it is not possible to compute the extent of destruction, and loss of antiquities which all the wars of the past had spared, the subscribers to this History, most of whom sent in their names in 1929-30, will recognise that the recent misfortunes of Spain give the publication an enhanced significance. For there can be little doubt that the wreckage of long-treasured works of art and architecture, and of unique MSS., will evoke from cultured and sober minds, all over the world, emotions far other than the destroyers anticipated.

28th November, 1936.

E.M.T.

¹ "A New History: Spain and England, 1553-1583," article by Douglas Hyde, LL.D., Litt.D., (commenting on Vols. I-IV of *Elizabethan England*). See "Studies," Vol. XXIV, No. 95, Sep: 1935. (A Quarterly Review: Dublin; London; Melbourne; and St. Louis, U.S.A.) pp. 487-490.

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“ I shortly made answer that I conceived an Historian was bound to tell nothing but the truth.”

“ *The Life of the Renowned Sir Philip Sidney. With the True Interest of England as it then stood in relation to all Forraign Princes,*” &c. “ *Written by Sir Fulke Grevil, Knight, Lord Brook, a Servant to Queen Elizabeth, and his Companion and Friend.*” (Chapter xvii).

“ . . . la verdad el más firme sostén de los tronos y el mejor guia para la gobernación de los pueblos.”

(“ . . . truth, the firmest support of thrones and the best guide for the ruling of people.)

“ *Discursos del Excelentísimo Señor Duque de Berwick y de Alba leidos ante la Real Academia de la Historia,*” Madrid, 1919, p. 63.

Introduction, Book II: Vols. V and VI.

“To the Friendly Readers in General.”

ELIZABETHAN authors would often present one and the same work, in three successive epistles, (1) “to the Queen’s Most Excellent Majestie”; (2) to some benevolent nobleman, who most likely paid the printer’s bill; and (3) “To the Friendly Readers in general.” Not only did they claim sympathy from every walk of life, beginning boldly with the Sovereign; but they looked confidently to “hereafter ages”:

“Either to forget or to be forgotten is alike injurious to the Dead as to the Living. For what bootes the kindnesse and mutual Love of Friends, and whereto serve the Travailles and Heroicall Achievements of Nobly-minded-Men, if Oblivion write the Epitaph that should beautifie their tombs?”¹

Worse than Oblivion is Distortion, born of imperfect sympathies and of too great haste to sit in judgment upon characters not adequately understood. “*None can judge well of things of importance who doth not know all the particulars: because often one circumstance . . . doth alter the whole case.*”

This warning was uttered, circa 1525, by a statesman who had laboured as a lawyer, an Ambassador, and a General in the field, before attempting to write history.² And though “to know all the particulars” of inner motives and secret dealings seems less an attribute of mortal man than of the Recording Angel, the *Real Academia de la Historia* in Spain was nobly inspired when taking for its device a winged spirit writing on a tablet, dispelling the darkness of ignorance by the light of Truth.³

The reasons why two volumes of “*Elizabethan England*” are devoted to the three years from the discovery of the Spanish Ambassador’s conspiracies with the English Catholics, and his expulsion from England in January 1583-4 until the doom of Mary Queen of Scots, in February, 1586-7, and the funeral of Sir Philip Sidney the same month, will be manifest when the reader has studied the events in their sequence. Though this Book II is headed with Lord Burghley’s words to Queen Elizabeth, “*Spain, yea, Spain it is in which all causes do concur to give a just alarm,*” we should look back to Book I for the origins of that warning. We have seen in Volumes I to IV the ideas, intentions, and means which made Philip II.

¹ Thomas Milles, “*A Catalogue of Honor*,” London, 1610.

² “*The Maxims of Francis Guicciardini*,” No: 122 (Ed: 1845. p. 125).

³ The motto of the Academia is “*Nox fugit Historiae lumen dum fulget Iberis.*”

increasingly formidable; and the ensuing volumes will unfold the effects of those qualities.¹

As to the Low Country war, to which, after the fall of Antwerp in 1585, Queen Elizabeth's forces were sent,—not out of philanthropy but as a first line of defence for England,—nobody doubts the vigour of King Philip's General, Alexander Farnese, Prince and Duke of Parma. It is Lord Leicester whose doings have been misapprehended, from the 17th to the 20th century. Nor were they even at the time always assessed correctly. When Thomas Morgan, Father Parsons, and Father Ballard, in 1586, encouraged themselves and the Queen of Scots to hope that Parma would surprise and invade England while Elizabeth's Army was abroad, they seem not to have realised how this English Army was keeping Parma too busy to absent himself from the Netherlands.

Far from Lord Burghley luxuriating in a delusive security, and wakening tardily in 1588, he, Leicester, and Walsingham had long been conversant with King Philip's ambitions, and with the hopes which many English Catholics were building upon aid from Spain. How letters sent secretly to and from the Continent to the Queen of Scots and intercepted were one of the chief official means of information, and how every measure for her release was turned to her undoing, will be seen from both sides in turn. But for a while the Prince of Parma will be oftener heard about than encountered. It is in later volumes we shall meet him face to face, at his capture of Sluys and parley with Sir Roger Williams; and will follow his doings intermittently up to his death in 1592, worn out by continuous toil in the service of an exacting and not always grateful Monarch. In 1585-'87 the immediate purpose is to examine Leicester's dealings in the Netherlands while the Queen of Scots was negotiating for deliverance by Spain.

Even as the Catholic Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland who relied on Spain had been disappointed in 1569, so the Spanish alliance—very profitable to Sir William Stanley who compounded with King Philip's emissary outside England,—was to be fatal in 1586 to the conspirators at home.

A chief reason, at both times, why the invasion was postponed, was that Queen Elizabeth's defenders were united and resolute. This organised determination has long been obscured in English Modern History; for we have all believed that Elizabeth had no Army of any consequence; that Lord Burghley starved the Navy; and that he and Leicester were heads of rival "factions." But a Hungarian visitor to London in the year of the Spanish conquest of Terceira could exclaim that the English enjoyed the delights of peace, and walked about "with breasts unarmoured," because they were strong enough to face their adversaries whether at home or abroad. Though Walsingham in a private memo soon afterwards

¹ For the System of Compilation, see note, Vol. I. pp. xv-xli; and also Preface and General Introduction to that Volume: and Note on the Illustrations, p. xlvi. But whereas in Vols. I-IV the cross references were to Part, Chapter, and Section, they are now mostly to Volume and Page. The illustrations are now listed not by sections but as to the pages they face. Dates, as formerly, are in the English style, except where otherwise specified.

expressed his doubts of any such adequate strength, the new "Oath of Association" in defence of Queen Elizabeth, first sworn by every Privy Councillor and Member of both Houses of Parliament in the early autumn of 1584, was the official retort to King Philip's commission (23rd of June) appointing the "never vanquished" Marqués de Santa Cruz (the conqueror of the Azores) as his Captain-General of the Ocean Sea.¹

The sufferings of the Queen of Scots during her last years, the reasons for the postponement of the Duke of Guise's invasion project of 1584, and also for the failure of the Ballard and Babington conspiracy in 1586, will be easier to understand when we see Queen Mary's case in conjunction with contemporary events which reacted upon her fortunes. It seems to have escaped notice how one of the more astute among her adherents warned her that Spanish promises made prior to the capture of the Azores had become less likely of swift fulfilment since King Philip had won the vast Empire of Portugal, and so could now afford to postpone the annexation of England, Ireland, and Scotland until he had made further progress in the Netherlands.

That instead of helping Queen Mary's cause, the Spanish conquest of Portugal delayed the assistance, is one more example of the peculiar fatality by which everything she believed would be to her advantage worked out the contrary way.

Many an analysis of her misfortunes has appeared in print;² but the present work is the first in English in which the restoring of Spain to its original proportions enables us to see the Queen of Scots in conjunction with European questions. The personal rivalry between Mary and Elizabeth, and the repetition of dreary and sordid scandals, have been themes for frequent discourses: but the modern discoursers too often trivialise the tragedy. And even judicially-minded pioneer scholars, such as Hosack, whose name should be for ever honourably linked with that of Queen Mary, treated her case more in its insular and personal aspects than in relation to world politics.

That in "*Elizabethan England*" her affairs are given in concise and concentrated form is of set purpose; for if the major issues are comprehended, the minor complexities cease to confuse us. The present historian has considered the circumstances from every aspect, and studied the evidence over and over again,

¹ In the quarterly "*Journal of the Royal United Service Institution*," Vol. LXXXVII, p. 225, February, 1936, a maritime commentator upon "*Elizabethan England*" (J. F. Ruthven, F.R.G.S.) pointed out how the revelation that Lord Burghley was "not the foe of Drake but in league with Drake is as important as the restoration of the Spanish victories of 1580, 1582, and 1583, to their right place in European history . . . When in 1890 Captain Mahan published *The Influence of Sea Power upon History*, he began his story in 1580, and in the Introduction the only XVIth century fight he mentioned was Lepanto in 1571. He made no reference to Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations* published in 1589, dedicated to Chief Secretary Walsingham; nor did he realise that every Sovereign and Potentate, not least the Popes, in the XVIth century, recognised sea-power as the determining factor."

(This last conclusion is drawn from the materials co-ordinated in "*Elizabethan England*": including Parliamentary speeches of Sir William Cecil and Sir Nicholas Bacon).

² See E.E., Vols. I, V, VI, Mary Queen of Scots; Bibliographical Notes I, II and III.

sister's reign, that an entire repudiation of foreign influences was becoming politically essential to the survival of an independent England.

While it is needless to-day, as well as unjust, for Spanish or English Catholics to class Queen Elizabeth as an unmitigated "Jezebel," it is not fair of English Protestants to avert their eyes from achievements in which Spanish arms helped to save Christendom from the Turk, as, for example, in the relief of Malta,¹ and the victory of the allied fleet of the Holy League against the forces of Sultan Selim.² And if English Catholics regret to be reminded that some significant replies of the Cardinal of Como to the Nuncio in Madrid were more "Italianate" than seraphic, Protestants may feel a vicarious embarrassment at the discourteous humiliations to which Mary Queen of Scots was subjected by Elizabeth's Ministers.

This History is not intended to renew old strife, but to promote understanding of events which have never been completely comprehensible as viewed from one side only. The time has long passed when there need be any reason either for concealing Queen Elizabeth's actual faults, or for saddling her with crude and bestial vices foreign to her temperament. As to her policy, much has been said, of late, about her extreme severity to English Catholics, but without the historians quoting plainly the *Sententia Declaratoria* of Pope Pius V: viz.

"We . . . declare the said Elizabeth . . . to have incurred the sentence of anathema . . . We do declare her to be deprived of her Pretended Title to the Kingdom aforesaid, & of all Dominion, Dignity & Privilege whatsoever: And also [pronounce] the Nobility, Subjects & People of the said Kingdom, & all others who have in any sort sworn unto her, to be for ever absolved from any such Oath . . . "

Not only this; but Pope Pius admonished "all and every Noblemen, Subjects, People, and others" that "they presume not to obey her" or her "mandates and laws." Any who disregarded this prohibition were to fall under a similar anathema.³

This pronouncement, which the Cardinal of Como subsequently confirmed to the Nuncio in Spain as remaining in operation,⁴ justified the Catholic conspirators from their own point of view. But we have seen how King Philip and the Emperor disapproved of any such sentence; chiefly because it is always hazardous to launch an absolute fiat unless certain of being able to enforce it.⁵ Not a single one of the modern English commentators upon Mary Queen of Scots and the plots on her behalf,—not even Hosack in 1868-74 nor Father J. H. Pollen in 1922,—appear to have seen in extenso the Bull and Declaration of Pope Pius upon which the whole

¹ E.E. Vol. I. pp. 259-276. ² Ib: Vol. II. pp. 77-97.

³ "Given at Rome," etc. 1569; Latin facsimile of printed declaration, E.E. Vol. II. p. 44; and translated in extenso, pp. 46-48.

⁴ Letter in Pastor's *History of the Popes*, Vol. xix, p. 441; and E.E. Vol. IV, pp. 141-144.

⁵ See E.E. Vol. II. pp. 43-51.

position turns. On the one hand it impelled some of the Catholics to plan the utmost extremity against Elizabeth; and on the other hand it united in her defence all such Englishmen as were disinclined to submit to a foreign decision, even that of the Sovereign Pontiff, as to who should or should not rule England.

While the custom to-day is to forget the fundamental conditions of the contest,—and also to overlook King Philip's objection to the Bull, as being more likely to impede than forward the purpose desired—so likewise the now-current *obiter dicta* on Elizabethan happenings often leave out of the reckoning the English Queen's uncertain temper towards her own ministers and warriors, upon whose labours she depended for her power and prosperity.

As to Elizabeth's peculiar blend of characteristics, the present historian will make the minimum of comment until the concluding volume. For only when looking back upon the forty-four years of her sovereignty is it possible to offer anything approaching a final judgment. Meanwhile if we sometimes feel her changes of humour perplexing, so also did Burghley, Leicester, and Walsingham.

As to her attitude towards Mary Queen of Scots, it fluctuated; whereas the determination of her Councillors for the destruction of the captive grew increasingly resolute and relentless. Had they been born Queen Mary's subjects, and had there been no menace from Spain, the same English statesmen who brought her to the scaffold might have been fighting her battles. But in the actual circumstances, her regal spirit militated against her. Qualities which would have won the devoted homage of Leicester and Burghley had they regarded Mary as their lawful Sovereign, were resented in one whose claims they were determined to put aside.

Philip Sidney's complaint that historians frequently assume an air of authority to cover their ignorance, should become less and less applicable in future: for we are no longer crippled by such concealment of State Papers as frustrated the writing of Fulke Greville's intended History of Elizabethan policy.¹ But "*whosoever wishes to be cured of ignorance must confess it*," as Montaigne used to say.

In any large work even a careful writer may make a mistake, in good faith, by trusting some "authority" whose dictatorship rests on insecure foundations. But there need be no harsh blame attached to an error, unless correction is ignored, and injustices are deliberately circulated anew, with compliments to the "inimitable style" of the perverters of truth.

To imply that exactitude and style are incompatible, and to imagine that to be effective a writer must avoid being "pedantically" accurate, is a dangerous doctrine. The historian's business is not "self-expression," but self-forgetfulness; and also a capacity for "stretching his mind," as an Elizabethan Chancellor of Cambridge University expressed it when explaining how to derive the utmost practical use from lessons of the past.

The Elizabethans would not have understood the modern method of dividing history into "periods," and confining each "expert" within some given limits,—outside which dates he is not expected to delight in study or welcome information. Such restrictions are especially unsuited to an age when the same temper which urged men forth into unchartered seas stimulated them also to a boundless interest in matters of spirit and intellect. Time-limits did not exist for them:

"Angels first fell from God.
Man was the next that fell.
Both being made by God for Heaven,
Have for themselves made Hell."¹

They wrote of Adam and Eve as if the expulsion from Paradise had not been very long ago; and speculated whether our first parents began their sojourn upon earth in summer or in winter. The human race still craved for its lost Paradise; and though the ballad "*Hierusalem my happie home*" is believed to have been written by a Catholic recusant in Lancashire, it was elsewhere headed "*The Queristers song of yorke in praise of heaven*," and was as popular among Protestants as among Catholics.² To a "happie home" in Heaven all mortals hoped to come in the end. Meanwhile they differed openly upon definite issues, and were ready to send each other to the scaffold for a principle or an idea.

In my "*Elizabethan England*" the temper of the 16th century should not be difficult to understand, now that the dead are at last shown on their own merits or demerits, and not by any adaptation of their deeds and words to suit some political or literary fashion of the passing moment.

That an English, Irish or Scotsman, a Spaniard, an Italian, a Portuguese, a Frenchman, a Netherlander, a German, and a "Moresco" are not exactly the same, nobody would then have disputed. But, to borrow an Elizabethan simile, even as many notes of music are combined in one "concent" to create sweet melodies, so the inherited variety between man and man, nation and nation, might yet make a vast harmonious orchestra. Not by ignoring differences but by accepting them, not by obliterating individuality but by understanding it, will the Millennium be brought nearer. And so, to every nation, this History is addressed: neither "idealising" the past nor depreciating it, but endeavouring to present it direct from the evidence, "without fear or favour."

E. M. TENISON.

London, 9th July, 1936.

¹ Chorus from the tragedy of "*Mustapha*."

² B.M. Add: MS. 38599. Commonplace Book of Richard Shann of Methley: 1st page reproduced in Eleanor M. Brougham's "*Corne from olde Fields*," 1918; and ib: pp. 19-24, 26 verses from Add: MS: 15225, headed "*A song made by B.P. to the tune of Diana*." See also Gillow, *Bibliog. Dict: of English Catholics*, vol. I, p. 54, and V, p. 2041; Julian's *Dict: of Hymnody*, and *The Month*, vol. XV, p. 232.

THE UNIVERSAL LANGUAGE

In the Elizabethan era, when conversation at Oxford and Cambridge was carried on daily in Latin,—and when the Crown kept a special "Secretary for the Latin Tongue," for drafting Commissions and other business of State,—the Queen did not restrict herself to classical accomplishments; but took pride in welcoming each foreign visitor in his vernacular. This set the fashion at the Court; and Giordano Bruno could say in 1584, "*Englishmen of quality know that their own tongue is confined to their own island, and would deem themselves savages could they not speak Latin, French, Spanish, and Italian.*"¹

But now, since English has been planted all over dominions more far-reaching than even Sir Humphrey Gilbert's most prophetic hopes, our language is taught also in the secondary schools of countries so different as Germany and the Argentine; Portugal and Japan; Roumania, Denmark, Turkey, and Estonia; and a Shakespeare comedy has been acted in Madrid in English under the auspices of the Hispano-Ingles Society.

In a recent essay on "*The American Language. An Inquiry into the Development of English in the United States,*" Mr. H. L. Menken refers to ours as the "universal language," in that "three-fourths of the world's mail is written in it;" and "it is used in printing more than half the world's newspapers." Therefore, to address to every nation this History of "Elizabethan England," in relation to all Foreign Powers, is no mere figure of speech.

That North America and the Indies, Mexico, Brazil and other parts of South America, gradually cast off allegiance to Spain and Portugal, is sometimes put forward as a reason why they should prefer history to begin with their respective Declarations of Independence. But "what has been, has been"; and to forget or repudiate an obligation is not to cancel it. For good or ill, every mortal is the child of what has gone before.

As 19th and 20th century English standard historians have postulated 16th century Spain as disintegrating at the very time when actually Spain was at the height of power and renown, it is right that the present History, in which Spanish enterprises, arts, and diplomacy are shown direct from the sources, is likewise in English.

To-day we call Elizabeth's kingdom "Shakespeare's England," though she had been nearly thirty-five years on the throne before his name came into print. And Shakespearean drama had to wait more than two centuries before European scholars in general admitted as of universal appeal the plays erstwhile depreciated as written in a barbaric tongue. No glory was foreseen for the English language when Philip Sidney, circa 1580, was so daring as to call it "most fit to honour poesie and to be honoured by poesie."

This was at least thirteen years before William Shakespeare dedicated the "first heir" of his Invention, "*Venus and Adonis,*" to Henry, Earl of Southampton.

The originality of Sidney, in claiming that English "could compare with any other tongue in the world" for "sweetness and majesty," makes his "*Defense of Poesie*" a land-

¹"*La Cena de le Ceneri*"; E.E., Vol. V. p. 243.

mark in our literature. After reciting the drawbacks of Italian, Dutch, French, and Spanish,—“English,” he declared, “has none of these defects.”

But despite the renown attained by Sidney,—a reputation enhanced by the posthumous publication of his prose and verse,—his claims for the English tongue were slow to win acceptance. And had Fulke Greville been permitted to write the *History of his Own Time*,¹ a European audience would then have expected him to build his edifice in Latin. Now, when ours has come to be “the Universal Language,” the present historian need not apologise for using the English tongue.²

In linking together the words and deeds of the 16th century, every effort has been made to avoid expressions which would seem strange to the persons concerned, could they return to life. For example, it is of set purpose that Elizabethan voluntary adventurers by sea are never called “privateers.” This word is not to be found in any Elizabethan MS.; only in later printed paraphrases, sometimes mistaken for verbatim transcripts.

After reading “*Elizabethan England*” to the end, each reader can judge, at pleasure, which of the statesmen, warriors, or “divines” has exemplified the most graphic, vigorous, and “Shakespearean” English.

The Elizabethan popular custom of printing a favourite book in treble or quadruple parallel columns, of as many languages, has fallen into disuse, partly because, wherever we go, English has gone ahead of us. Originally carried into “strange lands” by our men of action, it has spread, commercially and scholastically, because the English-speaking races have come to possess or influence the largest proportion of the habitable globe.

Though Spain within living memory lost the last remnants of her possessions in the *Nuevo Mundo*, Spanish is said to be spoken even now by the largest number of persons next only to English. So the story of England’s relations to Spain in the days of the utmost pride of Spanish supremacy, should immediately appeal to a wide audience; nor ever lose its human interest, as long as statecraft, seamanship, arts and sciences, and the study of mankind, are appreciated upon earth.

16th of October, 1936.

E. M. T.

¹ E.E. Vol. I. pp. xii-xiii.

² With footnotes in Latin, Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, French, and occasionally Dutch and German.

ADDENDA.

INDEX TO SPANISH STATE PAPERS.

In "*Elizabethan England*," Vol. I, pp. xi-xiii, see "Note on the Spanish State Papers," i.e. the English Calendars of Simancas MSS, and also the "*Colección de documentos inéditos*," 112 volumes, (B.M. No: 9195, c.c.). But these "*documentos inéditos*" are not so arranged as to be easy to use, as they are not in chronological order. The student's or historian's task can be much facilitated by the Index, which has been published separately, through the Instituto de Valencia de Don Juan, under the auspices of its President, the Duke of Alba, and of Mr. Archer Huntington and the Hispanic Society of America: viz., "*Catálogo de la colección de documentos inéditos para la Historia de España*," compiled "*por Julián Paz, del Cuerpo de Archiveros Bibliotecarios C. de la Academia de la Historia*," now Librarian to the Duke of Alba at the Palacio de Liria: Vol. I, Madrid, 1930, 728 pp. and Vol. II, 1931, 870 pp.

Señor Paz (Vol. I, p. xii), remarking on the vastness of the MSS material, adds:

"su utilidad es grandísima, tanto para nuestra historia como para la de los países extranjeros, puesto que la correspondencia de nuestros Embajadores en aquellas Cortes refleja su historia interna, da noticias detalladas y curiosas de cuanto en ellas ocurría, pinta a sus personajes, a los Reyes, y a las familias reinantes como a los políticos de su tiempo, dando a veces detalles que pudieran haber escapado a los mismos naturales del país, por contar los Embajadores con activos agentes, bien introducidos y largamente pagados."

For English readers the English Calendars of Simancas State Papers will be most convenient; but the ensuing chronological notes may be useful to Spanish students: showing by the page numbers in brackets where to find, in vol. I of Paz's *Catálogo*, 1930, further items as to events treated in their main issues in "*Elizabethan England*."

1554. E.E. Vol. I, pp. 62-68, King Philip's marriage in England. (pp. 43-45).

1557. E.E. Vol. I, pp. 93-105. Letter of Queen Mary, 14th August, congratulating the Emperor Charles V on King Philip's victory at St. Quentin. (p. 46). Being in French, the inference is that Queen Mary, (though the daughter of Catherine of Aragón), could not write Spanish.

1565. E.E. Vol. I, pp. 259-276, Relief of Malta. (pp. 270-297). Fortifications of Malta and Goleta (pp. 293-308).

1562-70. E.E. Vol. II, pp. 1-25, Low Country Matters, (pp. 48-53); and Duke of Alba, 1567-1568, (pp. 454-488).

1569. E.E. Vol. II, pp. 25-28; 36-38; 163. Intended Conquest of England. (p. 54).

1568-70. E.E. Vol. I, pp. 308-309, Moorish rebellion in Spain. (pp. 249-259).

1571. E.E. Vol. II, pp. 77-96, Battle of Lepanto. (pp. 37-40, and 124); and Correspondence of Don John of Austria with Don Garcia de Toledo and Cardinal de Granvela. (pp. 25-37).

1578. E.E. Vol. III, pp. 108-148. King Sebastian's African Expedition. (pp. 491, 497-506).

1579-1580. E.E. Vol. III, pp. 194-228. Preparation of the Spanish Army and Fleet for Conquest of Portugal. (pp. 718-728).

1580. E.E. IV, pp. 1-61. Conquest of Portugal, (pp. 507-512; 227-243). Spanish relations with Portugal, (pp. 63-84; 319, 326-333) especially the work of the Duke of Alba (333-427).

SPANISH ORTHOGRAPHY; CORRIGENDA

King Philip's Letter to Queen Elizabeth, Vol. I, Plate 42.

King Philip's handwriting, notoriously difficult, is especially so to English antiquarians, who are not accustomed to it. All his official letters to Queen Elizabeth are in the hand of a secretary; the only letter to her in his own hand which the present writer has been able to find, is that of 29th April, 1559, reproduced in facsimile, E.E. Vol. I, plate 42; with line by line transcript, and a translation. There is little difference between King Philip's *o* and *a*, and he sometimes ran the pronoun into the adjoining word (as is still done in modern Italian but not in Spanish); so it was judged best for a Spaniard to revise the transcript. And it was decided that although King Philip's *selo* would now be written *se lo*, and his *amy* would be *a my*, it would be better to copy his orthography, without modernisation.

Despite all the care taken, a few amendments can now be suggested by the Director of the Academy of History of Spain, the Duke of Berwick and Alba. There are at the Palacio de Liria so many letters of Philip II to the 3rd Duke of Alba, the victor of Alcántara, that the present Duke is presumably familiar with that Monarch's hand.¹

The letter of 29th April, 1559, was published for the sake of the contrast between King Philip's tone towards Elizabeth, and his orders *about* her, as given by him to his Ambassador the same day.

That *dellos* should be *dellas*, and *muy* should be *mas*, and *por cierto* should be *sea cierta*, and *deseo* should be *desea*, &c. &c., leaves the main points still unaltered. But although the suggested amendments are matters of orthography rather than of meaning, the transcript is now reprinted.

Forwarded to the subscribers at the same time as Volume V, it is intended to be substituted for the descriptive page covering plate 42 of Vol. I (November, 1924).

The word "Sarma" (clearly so written) is short for "Serenissima," an abbreviation still in use in Spain.

See King Philip's annotations; facsimile, facing p. 92, of the Duke's *Discurso* on his great ancestor. Madrid, 1919. ("Carta del Duque de Alba al Rey y respuesta éste en la margen izquierda.")

HOLOGRAPH LETTER OF PHILIP II OF SPAIN TO QUEEN ELIZABETH,

29th April, 1559.

Now first reproduced from the original in possession of The Marquess of Salisbury, K.G.

King Philip's communications to Queen Elizabeth are usually in Latin, in secretarial script, signed by the King. This letter from Brussels is the only one in Spanish and all in his own hand which has come to light in England. Its manner and matter should be compared with the instructions he sent at the same time to his Ambassador. (I. 1. 2, p. 159).

Señora,

No escribo mas veces a V.al. por saver q. El / conde de feria le da Siempre cuenta de todo / lo q. se ofrece; agora lo hago solamente movido / del gran deseo y cuydado q. tengo de ver tan bien / puestas y establecidas las cosas de V.al. como las / mias proprias (pues en efecto las tengo por / tales) para q. con dar esta el conde a V.al. le diga / lo q. cerca dellas me ocurre y parece q. deve / de proveer con tiempo. ruego mucho a V.al. le / crea como amy mismo, y haga mirar en / ello como negocio en q. no le va menos q. / la cons[er]bacion y seguridad de su Reyno, y sea / cierta V.al. q. en esta y en cualquiera otra / cosa q. le tocare me hallara siempre tan verda / dero y buen her^{no} como lo he sido por lo pasado / y selo dira El Conde a quien me Remyto en / todo por no cansar a V.al. con larga carta / cuya serma persona y Real estado n^{ro} Señor / guarde y prospere como desea de Bruselas / a 29 Abril 1559

buen her^{no} de V.al.

Yo el Rey.

Madam,

I do not write very often to your Highness, knowing that the Count de Feria always gives account to you of all that is happening; I am only doing so now because I am impelled by the great wish and anxiety I have to see the affairs of your Highness as well arranged and established as my own (as in effect I hold them to be) so that when the Count hands these to you he can tell you what occurs to me about them, and that it is well to see them in time. I much beg your Highness to have faith in him just as much as you would in me, and to look upon this as a matter which concerns nothing less than the preservation and security of your kingdom, and your Highness may be certain in this and in no matter what other affair which concerns you will find me always as true and good a brother as I have been in the past; and this will be told to you by the Count to whom in all this I entrust myself so as not to weary with a lengthy letter your Highness whose serene person and royal estate may Our Lord guard and prosper as desires

The good brother of your Highness

I the King.

From Brussels, 29 of April, 1559.

"BENEFITS OBLIGE NOT IGNOBLE MINDS."

The Tragedy of Henry Grey, Duke of Suffolk.

In Volume I of this work, Prologue, p. 44, when quoting an Elizabethan drama, "*The Famous History of Sir Thomas Wyatt*," in which the Duke of Suffolk's betrayer is called "Ned Homes," the present writer added that in Grafton's "*Chronicle at large*," first published in 1569, the keeper of the Duke's park at Astley appears as "Nicholas Laurence"; but that in the "*Annales of England*" translated from the Latin of Francis Bishop of Hereford, the story is of "one Underwood" whom the Duke "had formerly made his Ranger at Astley. But benefits oblige not ignoble minds . . .".

On the stage, the Duke of Suffolk, when arrested, immediately intercedes for "poor Homes"; and takes upon his own shoulders all the blame, saying that Homes had only concealed him in accord with "a servant's duty to his Lord." When the Sheriff replies,

"You are deceived, sir, in your servant much:
He is the man that did betray you,"

the Duke is horrified at such treachery: "Oh, break my heart. This grief's too great to bear."

In the play, the Sheriff hands out the reward promised. As Homes receives the blood money, he suddenly realises the hideous baseness of his conduct. So he then and there repents, and implores forgiveness of his victim. Whether or no the actual betrayer was thus remorseful, his name was not Homes.

The owner of Astley Park, Sir Francis Newdigate, G.C.M.G., (after reading "*Elizabethan England*,") wrote to the author in comment on Suffolk's tragedy:—

"The memorial which I put up, on the Duke's Farm, about two bow-shots S.W. from the Church, was inscribed by me, 'On this spot formerly stood a large hollow oak tree in which Henry Grey, Duke of Suffolk, Lord of the Manor of Astley, the father of Lady Jane Grey, took refuge from his pursuers. He was betrayed here by his keeper, Underwood, and executed on Tower Hill, London, 12th Feb: 1554.'¹ The tree was blown down in 1891."²

¹ See E.E. Vol. I. p. 56-57.

² Soon after the above was set up in type, news was received of the death of Sir Francis Newdigate-Newdegate: 2nd January, 1936, at Arbury, Nuneaton, Warwickshire. Educated at Eton and Sandhurst, his career began in his father's regiment, the Coldstream Guards. After experiences in India and other parts of the Empire, he was elected M.P. for Nuneaton in 1892 and sat until 1906. M.P. for Tamworth 1909 to 1917. Hon: Colonel of 7th Batt: Warwickshire Regiment; K.C.M.G., 1917; Governor of Tasmania, 1917-1920; and of Western Australia, 1920-24; G.C.M.G., 1925.

Combining love of his beautiful old home with wide European interests, Sir Francis Newdegate will be much missed and long remembered. He and Lady Newdegate (daughter of the 3rd Lord Bagot), inherited many links with Elizabethan affairs. Appropriately, he was one of the pioneer subscribers to the present History: in which two of the Arbury pictures have already been published (vol. I, plate 1, vol. IV, plate 6); and two more selected by Sir Francis will appear in later volumes.

ERRATA, BOOK I., VOLS. I—IV.

Though some of the ensuing were noticed by the author in time to be corrected in Errata Slips bound into the volumes, it is judged best to repeat those now, while adding several other corrigenda. The same will be done in relation to later volumes, if any such oversights occur; even if, as at present, they are only trivial misprints.

The proof reading of so elaborate a publication, with notes in 16th century Latin, Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, French, and occasional Dutch and German, is no light task; especially as the proof corrector is the author, architect, builder and publisher of the whole. If readers see any misprints which have been overlooked, they would do a service by communicating them to the author.

Vol. I. p. ii. line 4. "English, paintings." Delete comma.
 p. vii. note 1, l. 2. For "cuanda" read "cuando."
 p. xvi. l. 24. For "many appear" read "may appear."
 p. xvii. For 7 read 8, and for 8 read 7.
 Plate 38, l. 22. For "Lumle" read "Lumley."
 p. 54. note 2. l. 11. For "Reima" read "Reina."
 p. 147. note 1. For "Stoneyhurst" read "Stonyhurst."
 Facing p. 156. Plate 41 (description) l. 11. For "San Juan" read "Don Juan."
 Plate 42. Philip II's letter, transcript. See Vol. V. p. xxviii, and a reprint enclosed to be substituted.
 p. 166, note 1. l. 4. For "militibat" read "militabat."
 p. 308. note 1. l. 4. For "Sienna" read "Siena."
 p. 171. flyleaf: and p. 212, l. 2. For "de Quadra" read "de la Quadra."
 p. 313. l. 3. For "Andinguillara" read "Ardin Grillari."
 p. 324. note 1. l. 3. For "Bannatrye" read "Bannatyne."
 p. 302, note 5. For "Ib: p. 12" read "Plymouth Armada Heroes, p. 12."
 Plate 54, final sentence: For "La Valetta" read "La Valette."

Vol. II. p. X. plate II. For "del Pio Quinto" read "del Papa Pio Quinto."
 p. 41. Omit note 3.

Vol. III. Plate 4, facing p. 18. In pedigree, for "1553" read "1533," and for "1556" read "1536."
 p. 51. l. 13. For "1579" read "1759."
 p. 60. note 2. l. 1. For "and patrono" read "et patrono."
 p. 86. l. 5. For "al serinissima" read "al serenissimo."
 p. 81. l. 14. For "his owns" read "his own."
 p. 155. note 1. For "1595" read "1598."
 p. 218. note 5. For "serinissime" read "serenissime."

Vol. IV. p. 24. l. 6 and 8. For "Desailiens" read "Desainliens."
 p. 117. note 1. l. 1. For "sequire" read "seguire."
 p. 135. note 1, 9. For "Stoneyhurst" read "Stonyhurst."
 p. 235. note 1. 15. For "Vidua" read "viuda."

ADDENDUM.

Vol. III, pp. 129-148. Battle of Alcacer (El Kasr). For a Moorish tradition of how one of the Portuguese prisoners, a gunsmith, João Renauda, escaped death and won the favour of the Sultan, see "A Memoir of Sir John Drummond Hay, P.C., K.C.B., G.C.M.G., Sometime Minister at the Court of Morocco, based on his journals and correspondence. With a Preface by Sir Francis de Winton, K.C.M.G." London, 1896, pp. 241-263.

CHAPTERS AND SECTIONS. BOOK II. VOL. V.

*Every section in the ten volumes is headed with a phrase drawn from the period depicted; with a sub-heading, to indicate the subject to follow.
(See Note on the System of Compilation, Vol. I, pp. xv-xvi.)*

PART III.

“Ambitious, Politic, and Valiant.”

CHAPTER 1

“IF YOUR MAJESTY HAD ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND.”

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NOTES AND APPENDICES. VOL. V.

N.B.—These Notes and Appendices are not afterthoughts; but are part of the materials from which the main text has been built up. Some, such as the "Instrument" for preserving Queen Elizabeth's person, and her Proclamation of her reasons for helping the Netherlands (to rebel against Spain), were at first incorporated in *extenso* in the main narrative.

The revision and rearrangement (1936) have been so carried out that the work can be addressed simultaneously to the general reader and to the intending teachers of history. As will be seen (especially from pp. 43, 81, 83-5, 134-7, 165-8) misapprehensions on political matters arise frequently from lack of first-hand acquaintance with the materials, which in epitome or paraphrase are apt to be obscured or changed in meaning. The present historian goes direct to the sources (which are fully indicated in the footnotes); and readers, learned and otherwise, may be reminded that they are here introduced to the personages of the 16th century as they were in life,—unencumbered by 20th century adaptation of ideas or events.

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Note on Illustrations to Book II.

For the principle upon which the Illustrations have been selected, see E.E. Book I, Vol. I, p. xlvii. Chronological order is maintained in Book II, with a few exceptions; such as the frontispiece to Vol. V, Queen Elizabeth as "Diana." This was painted near the end of the reign, though it depicts the Queen in her youth. Also some tapestry made for the Great Duke of Alba before 1582 is set in Vol. V (plate 3), after Escobar's narrative (licensed 1583), instead of in Vol. II which covered the period of the action it is believed to represent.

In Vol. VI are two pictures of Alexander Farnese, Prince of Parma, aged about seven and eleven; more interesting seen in conjunction with his later portrait, and actions, than they would have been in a previous volume, where chronologically they belong but where he had not yet been introduced.

Among illustrations published for the first time are the frontispiece to Vol. VI, Major Radclyffe's "Elizabetha Regina"; a Portulan Chart of the Mediterranean, 1586; and a sketch of Berck (now Rhineberg) during the siege; also a plan of Flushing signed by "Roberte Ada:" Robert Adam or Adams, dated 1585, and inscribed in Latin to Sir Francis Walsingham from Sir Philip Sidney when Governor of that town. This plan does not seem to have been known to any of Sidney's biographers or editors; nor were they aware of the existence of the original holograph MS. of his Defence of the Earl of Leicester.

As to the explanatory notes given with each collotype: two items have changed hands since being selected and described: the Sidney MS. (Vol. V, plate 13.) and the Spixworth Park Queen Elizabeth. The Sidney MS was found among the Russell of Aden Papers in 1926 when they were examined for "Elizabethan England." It was hoped the discovery would not be publicly announced until the MS could be here shown in relation to the libel it answered. But it was sold by Mrs. Russell, at Sotheby's, to Messrs. Quaritch, for £1,520, on 31 May, 1927.

The Spixworth Park miniature of Queen Elizabeth (Vol. VI, plate 6.) was purchased in 1912 by Mrs. J. Seymour Lucas, who gave a photograph of it to the present writer. Soon after the death of Mr. Seymour Lucas, R.A., it was bought by Prince Frederick Duleep Singh, who within a few days of his own death most kindly provided notes on his inferences as to its earlier history prior to it being at Spixworth.

Of PORTFOLIO PLATES: numbers 1 to 10 were issued in 1932, with a brochure "Noble Arts, especially Maps." Other unique MS. Maps, Charts, and Plans, of great interest, are awaiting publication with the later volumes. But none of the subjects pertinent to the years 1583-4-1586-7 require large-scale reproduction, or need more elaborate description than is given with the plates in Volumes V and VI.

COLLOTYPE PLATES.

Book II, Part III, Chapters 1, 2 (Vol. V.).

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EQUESTRIAN ARMOUR OF PHILIP OF SPAIN:

made for him by Sigmund Wolf of Landshut: and ultimately deposited in the Real Armeria.

The English Royal Arms engraved upon the chanfron of the horse, presumably dates this suit as made between 1554 and 1558 while Philip was King Consort of our country.

(Photograph, Hauser y Menet).

As Philip II was the founder of the Royal Armoury, which is still one of the sights of Madrid, and as he began his reign with a successful war, and built the Escorial to "eternise" his victory, the persistence of 19th and 20th century English historians in alleging him to have been "no man of war," and to have preferred "compromise" to action, should be discontinued.

(See *Eliz: Eng*: Vol. I. pp. 95-105; and 122-124; and plates 24 to 29, 36-37, and 41, and Vol. III, plate 13, also Vol. IV, plates 3, 5, 15, 21, 22, 23.)

In 1907, Albert Calvert issued, in John Lane's "*Spanish Series*," an excellent guide to "the finest collection of knightly harness that ever any monarch possessed"; viz. "*Spanish Arms and Armour, being a historical and descriptive account of the Royal Armoury of Madrid*," with 386 illustrations. Based upon the "*Catálogo Descriptivo de la Real Armería de Madrid*," 1898, as revised by the Conde de Valencia de Don Juan at the wish of the Queen Mother, Mr. Calvert's work was dedicated,

"With profound respect and esteem, to her Majesty Queen Maria Cristina of Spain, who so worthily and for so long maintained those glorious traditions of Spanish greatness which are symbolised in the treasures of the Royal Armoury."



PART III.

“Ambitions, Politic, and Valiant.”

CHAPTER I.

“IF YOUR MAJESTY HAD ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND.”

SECTION I.

“Whether to procure his amity, or stop
the course of his enmity ? ”

(*Lord Burghley's Considerations as to Philip II and the English Catholics*).

“If your Majesty had England and Scotland, . . . you might consider the State of Flanders conquered, in which case you would be a Monarch who could lay down the law for the whole world.”

Juan de Vargas Mejia to King Philip II, Paris 13 Feb: 1580 n.s. (Cal: S.P. Spanish III, p. 5).

The “great question”: whether to “procure his amity or stop the course of his enmity ? As of a great lion, whether it be more wisdom to trust to the taming of him or tying of him ? . . . ”

“For the weakening of him I would (I confess from my heart,) wish that Your Majesty did not spare thoroughly and manifestly to make war upon him, both in the Indies and the Low Countries.”

“*The Lord Treasurer Burghley's Advice to Queen Elizabeth
On Matters of Religion and State.*”

Lord Salm's “Tracts,” ed: 1809, Vol. I, pp. 164-208.

"THE ONLY SUPREME GOVERNOR."

To understand Lord Burghley's ensuing references to the Oath of Allegiance as being so phrased that the Catholics could not take it, we should recall the exact words:

"I, A.B., do utterly testifie and declare in my conscience, that the Queenes highnes is the onely supreame gouernor of this Realme, and of all other her highnes dominions and countries," (i.e. Wales and Ireland,) "as well in all spirituall or Ecclesiasticall things or causes as temporall.

And that *no foreine Prince, Person, Prelate, State or Potentate, hath or ought to have any jurisdiction, power, superioritie, preheminence, or auctoritie, ecclesiasticall or spirituall, within this Realm:*

And therefore I doe utterly renounce and forsake all foreine jurisdictions," etc. etc., "and doe promise that from henceforth I shall beare fayth and true allegiance to the Queenes highnesse, her heires and lawfull successors, and to my power shall assist and defend all jurisdictions" (etc. etc.,) "granted or belonging to the Queenes highnes, her heires and successors, or united and annexed to the imperial Crowne of this Realme, so helpe me God, and by the contents of this booke": the Bible.¹

¹ "An Abstract of all the penal Statutes," &c. &c., 1579, by Ferdinando Pulton of Lincolns Inn. Dedicated to the Master of the Rolls. Index "Supremacie, S(ec) Queen, Crowne, and Supreme Government," p. 258—264. 1st Eliz: cap: 1. Marginally summarised, p. 258, "All foreign power abolished," and "Ecclesiastical jurisdictions annexed to the Crown." This was 1st Eliz: Cap. 1. See E.E. Vol. I, p. 161. When modern writers frequently allude to "the Catholic party at Elizabeth's Court" they do not realise that all Court officials had to take the above oath.

In note of all the havens, harbors, crekis, bayes, Roads, and fortresse townes a longe
the coste of Portengall, that go to Graya, from
Camyna, unto tavayol, on alday yere, wch
note shall teake shippings barkeris, and carvells
and galles wch a greate note of the burden
and tons of each of all them at Portengall

Camyna	A bardi haven Caravelle	8 16	from from	100/10/250/tone
Ugana	A bardi haven Caravelle	7 12	from from	100/10/200/tone
Vylade	A bardi Conde haven	9 10	from from	100/10/160/tone
Moro	A bardi haven Caravelle	11 15	from from	100/10/150/tone
porto of portengall	A bardi haven Caravelle	7 12	from from	100/10/150/tone
Porto	A open haven for work	12	from	300/tone 60/800/tone
On Porto	Copy y6 of Brows galles for the work	6		
	galles	16		

"A note of all the havens, harbors, crekis, bayes, Roads, and fortresse townes a longe the coste
of Portengall," &c., &c., and "a note of all their shippings, barkeris, and carvells and galles"
&c.; & of "the burdens and tons of each and all," &c.

Page from a MS. book (48 pp. sm: 4to), dedicated by "Wyllyam Lytlestone" "To the
Worshipful and hys singular good friend, Master doctor dalle, esquer, master of requests to the Quenes
most excellent Maestie. Anno 1582" (former Ambassador to France).

Erstwhile in possession of M^{ssrs} Ellis; now in the National Maritime Museum. (Listed in Annual
Report of the Society for Nautical Research, 1935, p. 42.)

In the dedicatory epistle, Lytlestone explained that while he "abode in the Court of Spain" he
managed to "view and search forth some parts of the secret estate of the Realm of Spain, and part of
the Realm of Portugal"; and that by contriving to see some of their Muster Rolls, and partly by his
own "knowledge and experience," he had "collected and translated out of the Spanish tongue into
the English" particulars of all the havens and shipping "within the Realm of Spain"; and other
matter, including lists of Archbishops, Bishops, and Grandees. (He adds a Note on all the titles of
the Grand Turk.)

Depreciating "dainty curious schoolmen," he prides himself rather on his matter than
his manner: "accept these my labours herein as the first fruits of a poor traveller who to the uttermost
of his small power, in the service of the Queen's most excellent Majesty and for his native country as
heretofore, . . . will at all times . . . yield himself to any labour, travail, or danger whatsoever . . ."

By the reference to "danger" we may suspect that he was a spy, whether voluntary or
professional. His handbook was compiled after the Spanish Conquest of Portugal had awakened
England to the possibility that a combined Spanish and Portuguese Navy might soon attempt to
annex England.

KING PHILIP II OF SPAIN.

*From the original in the National Portrait Gallery:
(canvas) formerly ascribed to Coello, but now believed to be
by Sofonisba Anguisciola (or Anguissola).*

Purchased in 1872 from Messrs. Graves, who purchased it from Mr. Martin Colnaghi.

Sofonisba Anguisciola, who was brought to Spain by the 3rd Duke of Alba in 1559, became Court-Painter and Lady-in-Waiting to the Queen, Isabel of Valois.

This artist died at Genoa 1625. (See *The Burlington Magazine*, March, 1915; H. Cook, "More Portraits by Sofonisba Anguissola.")

Selected in 1923 for the "*Elizabethan England*" series, this picture was reproduced in 1932 in the Hakluyt Society's vol: Lxxi, ser: ii, as frontispiece to "*Documents concerning English Voyages to the Spanish Main 1569-1580*," ed: I. A. Wright, B.A., F.R.Hist.S.; Comendadora, Order of Alfonso xii; Fellow of the Dutch Historical Society, Utrecht.



PART III.

“*Ambitious, Politic, and Valiant.*”

CHAPTER I.

“IF YOUR MAJESTY HAD ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND.”

SECTION I.

“*Whether to procure his amity, or stop
the course of his enmity?*”

(*Lord Burghley's Considerations as to Philip II and the English Catholics*).

“*If your Majesty had England and Scotland,*” one of King Philip’s subjects had written to him in 1580, “*you might consider the State of Flanders conquered; in which case you would be a Monarch who could lay down the law for the whole world.*”¹

Such was Philip’s intention; and few had it more passionately at heart than his Ambassador Don Bernardino de Mendoza. But Mendoza found himself frequently foiled by the Privy Council; and complained bitterly to King Philip that Leicester and Walsingham did “nothing but weave treason to the cause of God and your Majesty.”² (The word “treason” was as if Philip were already King of England.)

That Queen Elizabeth’s Councillors were awake to the danger, is the key to the events ensuing. But in 1598 an eminent English writer asserted that during the year 1584 the prospect of a Spanish invasion “grew more remote.”³ This was accepted as authoritative, and has been repeated ever since.

But in 1584 the probability of a Spanish invasion was so manifest, that a league was formed in readiness to resist it.

As in 1584 the Spanish Ambassador was detected in a conspiracy to assist the intending invaders, and was expelled from England; as the Marqués de Santa Cruz, the victor of Terceira, was in the same year commissioned Captain General of the Ocean Sea; as the assassination of the Prince of Orange exposed the Northern

¹ Juan de Vargas Mejia, *Cal: S.P. Spanish*, III. p. 5.

² Ib: p. 398. 30 Aug: 1582.

³ Corbett, “*Drake & the Tudor Navy*,” Vol. II. p. 9.

Netherlands to the likelihood of conquest by Spain,—and as the Bond “for the Preservation of her Majesty’s Royal Person” was signed by every member of both Houses of Parliament,—it is unfortunate that Corbett overlooked these facts. In his admiration for “Elizabeth’s genius for keeping the peace,” he lost sight of the methods by which peace was safeguarded. By imagining Philip of Spain lethargic and incompetent, Corbett not only wronged Spain but unconsciously dwarfed Drake.

No comprehension of the England of Elizabeth is possible without a clear realisation of the superlative power and energy of Spain.

The ambition of Philip II to “*make himself Lord and universal Monarch of the World*” is the theme of so many 16th century pens, whether in private correspondence or “published in print,” that the further English reduction of His Most Catholic Majesty in 1527 to a “creature of circumstance,” a “victim of necessity,” shows the composer of those phrases to have derived his Philip II not from Spain but from Corbett.

Let us therefore see the Spanish Sovereign as depicted subsequently by his own former Secretary of State:

“ . . . the said Philip is notably addicted to *Cosmographie*: for he hath in his pallace of Madril a very great and goodly house, wherein are the descriptions of all the provinces and realmes of the world, not only in generall maps, but even in particular: there doth he spend the most part of the day; and contemplating and beholding these descriptions, he doth whet on and augment his ambition . . .

“ . . . there he seeth what is most fit and convenient for him, and most easie for him to conquer: there he seeth by what meanes he may take Cambray, and how afterwards he may obtain Calis, and what reason he hath from thence to leap over to Amiens: and thus doth he consider and devise with himself what will be most for his profit and advantage, in such sort” that he will not “hazard his meanes . . . to no purpose.

“ He is also much . . . conversant in histories; and by them he hath seene and discerned how much it doth import him . . . to have the monarchy of Portugal . . . ”

To this the French translator added, “*Philip seeing himself Lord of so great a Monarchie doth aspire . . . to the realmes of France and of England . . . not only they of his Councell, but his particular private souldiers do know it.*”¹

If King Philip was “addicted to *Cosmographic*”, so was Lord Burghley, whose private collection of maps is being given to the world in this History.

¹ “*A Treatise Paraenetical*,” 1598, pp. 86-87. There follows pp. 87-90, an account of the naval and military expeditions in which Philip’s predecessors used the aid of the Portuguese, as for instance the capture of Goletta in 1535. “Who tooke it? . . . the Gallion Cagafuego of Portugall, which the King Don John the 3 had commanded to accompanie . . . Don Lewes his younger brother” (Dom Antonio’s father). (The Infante Luis is depicted in the Tunis tapestries of Charles V.)

We must discard three fallacies: (1) That Drake was distasteful to Burghley; (2) Burghley gullible by Spain; and (3) the Spanish King ready to shiver and "tremble" when the dashing Drake broke loose and smote with the vigour of a "pardoned pirate." (This phrase is Corbett's.)

Actually Drake's exploits in 1585, '86 and 1587 were part of the "roial war" which the Lord High Treasurer would have liked the Queen to begin in 1580.¹

But even when MSS are published indicating the combined vigour and subtlety of Spain, the evidence is argued away, and the spurious Philip II of the 19th century still shuts out from view the Monarch whom Lord Burghley and the populace alike compared to "A GREAT LION."

Let us now examine what Burghley wrote to Queen Elizabeth, about the two chief dangers to herself and her realm.² Having offered his "most gracious Sovereign" his "humble conceits," he proceeded:

"Your strong and factious subjects are the Papists. Strong I account them, both in number and nature, for by the number they are able to raise a great army; and by their natural and mutual confidence and intelligence, they may soon bring to pass the uniting with foreign enemies:

"Factious I call them because they are discontented. . . . Your Majesty must determine whether you will suffer them to be strong, to make them better content; or discontent them by making them weaker.

"To suffer them to be strong, with hope that . . . they will be contented, carrieth with it . . . but a fair enamelling of a terrible danger . . . men's natures are apt not only to strive against a present smart, but to revenge a bypast injury."

Even if they be indulged to-day, they will be influenced not by the present "slacking, but the former binding": especially if "they shall imagine this relenting to proceed from fear: for it is the poison of all government when the subject thinks the Prince doth anything more out of fear than favour . . .

"To make them absolutely contented, I do not see how your Majesty, either in conscience will do, or in policy may do it." Any attempt to win an uncertain love "by the losing of a certain love" would be the more unwise "in that your Majesty is embarked in the Protestant cause . . ." The most politic method is either "to make an assuredness of friendship or to take away all power of enmity."

It is necessary to "distinguish between discontent and despair." Discontented people it would suffice to weaken. The desperate are only overborne by death. But when the desperate are many, to kill them all would be "as hard and difficult

¹ See E.E., Vol. IV, pp. 108-111.

² "The Lord Treasurer Burghley's Advice to Queen Elizabeth on Matters of Religion and State," Undated: conjectured by Lord Somers as "about 1583." *Tracts*; ed: Walter Scott, 1809, Vol. I. pp. 164-208. It opens with allusion to "the late wicked and barbarous attempts": perhaps the 1583-4 conspiracies. This very important analysis of the difficulties has escaped the notice of both Catholic and Protestant historians.

as impious and ungodly. And therefore, though they must be discontented, I would not have them desperate."

He then endeavours to show her the case from the point of view of the Catholics:

" . . . the urging of the Oath" (to the Sovereign absolute in " Ecclesiastical things") " must needs in some degree beget despair;" because any " Papist" taking it " must either think he doth an unlawful act . . . or else by refusing it, must become a traitor."

This is a "hard" name to apply to any man unless evil has been actively committed by him.

Burghley therefore asks the Queen whether, with as much security to herself and better satisfaction to the " Papists," she might not limit the Oath to service in the event of war, omitting the insistence on her own headship of the Church; enacting only " *That whosoever would not bear arms against all foreign Princes, and namely the Pope;* if those Princes " *invade your Majesty's dominions,* the refuser should be judged a traitor."

This would make the case one of politics, and not of theology. A difficulty is that the Catholics might take the Oath " insincerely"; and that " the Pope could dispense them." But the same may be said of the existing Oath. So, after touching upon the " *troubles, losses and disgraces*" which Catholics suffer for refusing the Oath, Burghley suggests that instead of treating them so drastically, an attempt might be made to win them, by means of " *diligent preachers in each parish,*" and by selected schoolmasters. This last applies also to Protestant dissenters; for it is not good for the reputation of Her Majesty's power that foreign Princes should hear of " *heartburning and division.*" Although the Franciscans, the Dominicans, the Jesuits and the Benedictines may have " *discord*" one with another, yet " *in the main points of Popery they all agree*": hence their advantage.

Suggesting educational methods for the " *very young men,*" Burghley emphasises that putting Catholics to death is apt to arouse sympathy for them. Englishmen are such in their " *greatness of heart*" that when even criminals will go bravely to execution, much more courageously will men die when they look thereby to " *climb to Heaven.*" He would not have the Queen give Catholics " *the honour to take any pretence of martyrdom in England;*" but he would keep the Crown safe by making sure that no man should hold office unless he will " *really pray and communicate . . . according to the doctrine received generally into this realm.*" He asks her to specially be gracious to the tenants of " *Popish landlords.*" But as to the distribution of arms and ammunition, no one should be allowed to keep in his house " *so much as a halberd*" unless he conformed to the Church of England.

" *To compel them you would not; kill them you would not; so to trust them you should not;*" trust being dangerous, unless " *the trusted is of one mind with*

the trusting person." (Obstinate misplaced trust, he adds, "ruined Hercules, who, despite warnings, refused to suspect his evil servant Poliperchon, and so was murdered by him.")

The most reasonable course for the Queen is on the one hand to relent as to the rigour of the Oath; and "on the other side, by disabling your unsound subjects, you shall neither execute any but very traitors."

The foreign "enemies which may prove either able or willing to hurt you" are Scotland, for pretensions and proximity; and Spain, for religion and power.

The King of France might be a friend; for though disagreeing "in matters of conscience and religion" yet he "*feareth the greatness of Spain*" and therefore might "hope by your Majesty's friendship to secure himself against so potent an adversary."

Even supposing the King of France not to be at heart well affected to England, he has shown the world "that he loves his ease much better than victories;" So he is "neither loved nor feared of his people; and the people themselves being of a very light and inconstant disposition, . . . undisciplined how to do their duties either in war or peace, they are ready to begin and undertake any enterprise" without consideration, "and yet weary of it before it be well begun." And they are torn not only by the division of "Huguenots and Papists," but of the Montmorencies and Guises; and the populace "being oppressed by all, do hate all."

Burghley advises "reasonable favour" and support to the King of Navarre. As to the French King, either make a "good alliance" with him against Spain the common enemy, "or at least *so muzzle him as that he shall have little power to bite you.*"

In Scotland Her Majesty should have her own party among the nobles, and keep King James too busy at home to be troublesome abroad. But it is "*Spain, yea Spain*" in which "all causes do concur to give a just alarm."

There follows a summary which can never have been read by Corbett or any of the modern English historians who have echoed each other in depicting Burghley as servile to King Philip and hostile to Drake.

The Pope and the King of Spain—though differing on minor issues—are to be reckoned as one in their intentions about England: "*Whatever the mind of Pope Gregory, and the power of King Philip will or can compass or bring upon us*," is to be anticipated: the King of Spain being "*a Prince whose closet hath brought forth greater victories than all his father's journies*" in war. (When we recall the Emperor Charles's exploits, this is a very high tribute.)

King Philip's power arises from "*absolutely ruling his subjects, a people all one-hearted in religion; constant, ambitious, politic and valiant; and, which of all I like worst, greatly beloved among all the discontented party of your*

Highness' subjects: a more lively proof whereof one could never see than in the poor Don Antonio, who when he was here, was as much at Mass as any man living; yet there did not so much as one Papist in England give him any good countenance": so general is the "affection" of the English Catholics for Spain.¹

As King Philip is the "chief cause" of all the difficulties, the "great question" is whether to "procure his amity, or stop the course of his enmity? As of a great Lion, whether it be more wisdom to trust to the taming of him, or tying of him?"

With his "usual presumption of love," Burghley offers to the Queen's "gracious consideration" his own interpretation of the case:—

First, if she intends any League with King Philip, he recommends her to consider what assurance there is, "or at least what likelihood," that he would keep it?

Secondly, to take care that such a League shall not, "in a parleying season," endeavour to "overthrow the Low Countries which have been as a countercamp to your Majesty's Kingdom."

"But if you do not league, then your Majesty is to think upon means for strengthening yourself, and weakening of him." Her own strength must be "tendered both at home and abroad." Abroad she should be in "good confederacy, or at least intelligence" with powers which would "willingly embrace" any opportunity to trouble King Philip.

Florence, Ferrara, and Venice, "abhor his frauds and fear his greatness. And for the Dutch and Northern Princes, being in effect of your Majesty's religion," their alliance "should be firm . . . For the weakening of him, I would (I must confess from my heart) wish that your Majesty did not spare thoroughly and manifestly to make war upon him both in the Indies and the Low Countries, which would give themselves unto you."

This is in striking contrast to Corbett's Burghley, who is the stumbling block to all maritime and martial enterprise; and who lately was again described as the despair of the men of action.

The actual Burghley urged the Queen to attack King Philip while he had only "one hand at liberty," rather than wait "till both of them (be) sharply weaponed."

"But if this seem foolish hardiness to your Majesty's wisdom, yet I dare not presume to counsel, but beseech your Majesty that what stay and support your Majesty, without war, can give to the Low Countries, you would vouchsafe to do it: Since as King of Spain, without the Low Countries he may trouble our skirts of Ireland but never come to grips with you;

¹ That this is a *private* memo for the Queen is indicated by the reference to "Don Antonio" without his title as "King of Portugal," which is never omitted from Burghley's *official* writings, or from the Acts of Council. To Antonio was given leave to have a priest to say Mass in private for himself and his Portuguese following: the same privilege as the Queen permitted to foreign Ambassadors from Catholic powers. Burghley's remarks as to religion in connection with D. Antonio tally with those of King Philip's former Principal Secretary, Antonio Pérez (particulars later).

but if he once reduce the Low Countries to an absolute subjection, I know not what limits any man of judgment can set unto his greatness."

The Queen would not hear of any modification of the Oath for the Catholics; and it has been utterly forgotten that Burghley ever suggested any such thing.¹

Anticipating that the oft-deferred "enterprise" of King Philip against England might soon be attempted, Burghley set to work "for the putting in strength of Her Majesty's subjects" for "withstanding all kinds of invasion."²

The theory that the way to disarm one's foes is first to disarm oneself, and that no man must be ready to die for his country lest he thereby provoke some foreigner to yearn to kill him, had not then been devised. Nor would Burghley have tolerated any such sophistry. We will yet see his method of dealing with persons described by him as "unworthy subjects," unwilling to fight or help others to fight, and so deserving to lose their all to the King of Spain. Not many such existed; and those few were to receive a remonstrance, which either aroused their dormant manhood or made them realise that they stood to gain nothing, but lose much, by cowardice and sloth: which weaknesses were never condoned in the England of small numbers and great spirit, which dared to defy "magnificent proude and haughtie Spayne."

¹ We have seen how King Philip tried to convert some of Queen Elizabeth's chief nobility, and how Don Bernardino de Mendoza had been sowing suspicion between England and France. Burghley counselled an attempt to win "the Prince of Parma from the King of Spain;"

"or at the least to have the matter so handled, as that jealousy therefore may arise betwixt them; as Pope Clement did by the noble Marquess of Pescara; for he practised with him, for offering the Kingdom of Naples; *not so much with hope to win him, as to make his master suspect him*. And when I consider that Parma is a Roman by blood, a Prince born, . . . when I remember . . . the apparent title of his son Rumuntio to the Crown of Portugal I cannot see how much a mind in such a fortune can sell itself to a foreign servitude." (For claimants to the Crown of Portugal, see E.E. Vol. III, p. 214, note 1.)

² Unpublished S.P. Dom. Eliz. CLXXXVI 52. App: E.E. p. 43-45.

DEDICATED TO KING PHILIP: 1583.

*Antonio de Escobar's "Recopilacion de la felicissima jornada" for the Conquest of Portugal, under Captain-General Don Fernando Alvarez de Toledo, Duque de Alba.*¹

*"Lustre y honor del Reyno Castellano,
De quien le fuma suena tan gloriosa,
Que se auentaja en escrivir en prosa
El successo del Reyno Lusitano.*

*No permitays que en hecho tan famoso,
No alargue la ligera fama el buelo,
Y vuestra pluma diga al mundo todo,
No haterse jamas visto bellicoso
Exercito, ni gente en este suelo,
De tan sabio consejo esfuerzo, y modo.*²

Though the Duke of Alba was dead, his memory was living; and a narrative describing the conquest of Portugal was dedicated to King Philip by Antonio de Escobar, a Spanish officer who with

¹ "Recopilacion de la felicissima jornada que la Catholica Real Magestad del Rey don Phelipe nuestro señor hizo en la conquista del Reyno de Portugal: ansi en las cosas de la guerra como despues en la paz antes que boluisse a Castilla. Siendo Capitan general el Excellentissimo don Fernandaluarez [sic] de Toledo Duque de Alua.

Compuesta por Antonio de Escobar vecino y natural de la villa de Valladolid, que se hullo presente en toda aquella guerra, sirviendo a su Mag, con su persona y armas, criados, y cauallos.

Dirigida a su Catholica Real Magestad. [Device of arms, with helmet and mantling, and motto.] Con privilegio por diez Años."

[Narrative of the most successful expedition which His Most Catholic Majesty our Lord the King, Don Philip made at the conquest of the Kingdom of Portugal: in the war, as since in the peace before his return to Castile. The Captain General being the most Excellent Don Fernando Alvarez de Toledo Duke of Alba.

Composed by Antonio de Escobar, citizen and native of the town of Valladolid, who was present during the war, serving his Majesty with his person and arms, servants and horses.

Addressed to his Royal Catholic Majesty (coat of arms and motto *Barrieron el campo de sus enemigos*). With privilege for ten years.]

Library of the Duke of Alba. Palacio de Liria. No: 1813.6.3. 8½ x 6 inches. Prelimis, 16 pp. unnumbered; then 110 leaves numbered only on one side; and from verso of p. 110 Table of Contents, 5 pp. unnumbered. Collation: (1) Title page: (2) blank verso: (3) License, "Lo Rey, y per sa Magestad" (sic): (4) Dated "en lo Palacio Real de Valencia, a cinch dies del mes de Octubre, del any M.DLxxxiiii," signed "El Conde de Aytona" "Sellado con el sello de las armas Reales de la Corona de Aragon": (5) License, "El Patriarcha Arcebispo de Valencia," "Dada en Valencia a dos dias del mes de Setiembre del año de mil y quinientos ochenta y tres": (6) License, Valencia, "22 de Agosto, 1583, años." pp. 7, 8, 9, 10, (unnumbered), 4 Sonnets: 11, Epistola Dedicatoria, to the King (C.R.M.) ending 15th page. Verso, Woodcut of Royal Arms of the several Kingdoms of Spain; with Portugal added, imperfectly blazoned by the printer. Page 17, numbered as 1, begins the narrative, headed "Verdadera recopilacion de la felicissima jornada que la Catholica Real Magestad del Rey don Felipe nuestro señor hizo en la conquista del Reyno de Portugal." Leaves 1 to 110 numbered on one side only; ending "Soli Deo honor & gloria. Antonio de Escobar." Tabla: caps 1-57; unnumbered pp. 111-115. At the end of p. 115, colophon, "Impressa en Valencia, en casa de la viuda de Pedro de Huete, en la plaza de la yerua. Año MDLxxxvi."

When Almirante in 1876 issued his *Bibliografia Militar de Espana*, he knew of only one copy of this work, viz., "En la Biblioteca Nacional."

² Soneto de un cauallero Valenciano que embio al Auctor estando en Valencia, rogandole que imprimiesse la presente obra."

his "arms, servants, and horses," had taken part in the campaign from first to last. The earliest permission to publish the work is dated 22 August, 1583. As the Great Duke died the previous December, we may infer the book to have been written while he was still alive, while the events were fresh in the memory of the narrator.¹

Being the campaign as seen by a subordinate officer not in the confidence of his General, it does not make clear why the suggested meeting of the Duke and Don Antonio on the river by night, did not take place: namely, that the conditions were such as Antonio could not accept.² As to the main circumstances,—the election of Antonio as King, the coming of Philip in person to the camp at Cantillana, the victorious progress of Alba's army, and his operations in conjunction with the fleet, Escobar's narrative bears out what has already been described in "*Elizabethan England*" from other sources; and tallies with the sketch-plan of the battle of Alcántara found in Lisbon and first published in "*Elizabethan England*," 1934, vol. IV, plate 5.

In Vol. IV, Plate 3, as to the fresco called "*El Duque de Alba revistando a sus tropas en Cantillana*," it was suggested by the present writer that as the central tent shows the Royal Arms, the painting had more likely been intended to represent the Camp when the King himself was in command; prior to the Duke's Commission being signed on 12th of June, 1580. This inference is now confirmed by Escobar's Chapter 2, "*De como fu su Majestad, y la Reyna al cāpo de Cantillana, para ver entrar el exercito*."

Offered to the King, and adorned with the Royal Arms, the "*Verdadera Recopilacion*" is typical of the best kind of Spanish pride. Unlike the 1585 Italian "*Istoria*" ascribed now to the Portuguese Count of Portalegre, the narrative is not that of a politician, but of a straightforward soldier. There is no attempt to underrate the valour or popularity of Antonio. And though Escobar rejoices in the successful generalship of Alba, and ends with King Philip's triumphal entry into Lisbon,—though he regards the conquest as the fulfilment of a destined uniting of the whole Peninsula,—he does not personally indulge in ungenerous depreciation of Antonio, though he prints the King's proclamation against him.

Escobar makes clear that the advantages of discipline, numbers, and circumstances were on the side of Alba, whose Army he rates at 25,000 Foot and 2,500 Horse "at the beginning of the fight" at Alcántara. The force which Antonio could draw from Lisbon, Escobar computed at only 10,000 Foot, and 200 Horse. Antonio's men were skilfully placed, and his Cavalry as well as Infantry were ambuscaded among thickets of olives.³ He describes Antonio's artillery as beginning half an hour before the Duke's. When the Duke, after reserving his batteries, suddenly opened fire, his first piece narrowly missed Antonio, so nearly hitting him as to make his horse rear.⁴ Had he been killed then, he would have been saved fifteen years of suffering. But on that August day in 1580, his adherents thought he bore a charmed life. The Spanish narrator, showing how the irregular forces of the Portuguese were overcome by the superior Spanish generalship, praises "*la gran prudencia, y bueno gouerno*" of Alba.

When the Duke first wrote to announce the victory to King Philip, he could not tell him what had become of Antonio; but Escobar, writing retrospectively, relates how when the escaping fugitive rode back into Lisbon through the "new street," on his way to the north, the women came to their windows, crying out "King Don Antonio, where is your kingdom?"⁵

¹ For the Duke's death see E.E. vol. IV. pp. 233—235.

² See E.E. Vol. IV. p. 10.

³ "encubierta en las emboscadas de los olivares."

⁴ "entonces comenzó nuestra artillería a jugar bien apriessa, y la primera pieza que desparo se dixo haber dado junto a don Antonio, que le hizo dar un bostido a su caballo." (p. 72 verso).

⁵ "Y passando don Antonio por la rua nova que está en el medio de la ciudad, salian a las ventanas las mugeres dando gritos y llorando, diziendole: Rey do Antonio quese tu Reynado?" (p. 79v).

Upon the subsequent adventures of Antonio, and his relations to England, there is yet much to say. As the headings of Escobar's 57 chapters make an epitome of his narrative, they are here appended¹: because this campaign, which has been astonishingly neglected in modern England, was well understood by Queen Elizabeth's champions as the forerunner of an attempted conquest of England.

Capitulo 1. *Del fundamēto que tuuo la guerra y las cātidades que formarō el exercito.* (Of the cause of the war and the numbers which formed the army.) fol. 1.

Cap. 2. *De como fue su Magestad, y la Reyna al cāpo de Cantillana, para ver entrar el exercito.* (How His Majesty and the Queen went to the camp at Cantillana to see the arrival of the army.) 3.

Cap. 3. *Como don Antonio fue leuantado por Rey, y que pueblos le obedecieron.* (How Don Antonio was exalted as King, and the places which obeyed him.) 5.

Cap. 4. *Como su M. comenzó, a hazer trato cō los de Hielos, primera ciudad de Portugal, y se rindierō.* (How His Majesty commenced to treat with those of Huelva, first city of Portugal, and they surrendered.) 7.

Cap. 5. *Como don Aluaro de Luna, y Sancho de Avila ganaron a Villa viciosa, y Villa Buyn.* (How Don Alvaro de Luna and Sancho de Ávila took Villa Viciosa and Villa Buyn.) 8.

Cap. 6. *Como se leuāto el Real para yr a Estremoz, y de la representacion de batalla que hizo.* (How the Royal Head Quarters were raised in order to go to Estremoz, and of the review which was held.) 10.

Cap. 7. *Como partio el exercito desde Estremoz la via de Fuora, y porque se entiōdo hauia en ella peste guiaron a Montemor nouo.* (How the army left Estremoz, and went by the road of Evora. And as it was rumoured that the pest had broken out, they made for Montemor Novo.) 13.

Cap. 8. *Como llego el exercito a Montemayor nouo, y de lo que alli acaecio.* (How the army arrived at Montemor Nuevo and what happened there.) 16.

Cap. 9. *Como fue marchando el exercito desde Montemor nouo la via de Setubar.* (How the army marched from Montemor Novo by the road of Setubal.) 17.

Cap. 10. *Como llego el exercito a Setubar, y la puso cerca.* (How the army arrived at Setubal and halted near it.) 19.

Cap. 11. *Como se embarco para Lisbou la gente q havia deuia dexudo en guarnicōn de Setubar don Antonio, y se rindio la villa.* (How those whom Don Antonio had left to garrison Setubal embarked for Lisbon and the town surrendered.) 22.

Cap. 12. *Como se dexo dar battevia al Castillo de Palmeda por darla al de Otan.* (How they did not bombard the Castle of Palmeda in order to bombard that of Otan.) 24.

Cap. 13. *Como partio el Marques de santa Cruz con el armada desde caliz para Setubar, adonde le estuāa esperando el Duque para embarcarse, y de como a la venida gano el Algarue de Portugal.* (How the Marquis of Santa Cruz started with his force from Cadiz for Setubal, where he lay waiting for the Duke to embark, and how on arrival he took Algarve de Portugal.) 26.

Cap. 14. *Como se fue acercando el armada a tiro del Castillo de Otā, dōde se aniu descuberto, viniendo del Algarue.* (How he went with the army to within gunshot of the Castle of Otan where he was seen coming from Algarve.) 27.

Cap. 15. *Como psiguo la bateria, y se rido el castillo de otā.* (How the bombardment ensued and the castle of Otan surrendered.) 28.

Cap. 16. *Como juro Palmeda a su Magestad, y de una canalgada que fue a los negros que don Antonio tenia, haciendo vizcocho.* (How Palmeda swore allegiance to his Majesty, and about a cavalry raid against the negros on the side of Don Antonio, while they were making their biscuit.) 30.

Cap. 17. *Como embarco el Duque con el exercito en Setubar para Cascaes.* (How the Duke embarked with his army at Setubal for Cascaes.) 31.

Cap. 18. *Como el armada tuuo tormenta, y passo adelante de Cascaes, por el mucho reparo que alli hauia.* (How the force encountered a storm, and pressed on to Cascaes on account of the shelter which was to be found there.) 33.

¹ "Para que los que la presente historia leyeren, puedan mas facilmente hallar lo que quisieren buscar, ponesse aqui tabla de todo lo en ella contenido por el numero de los Capitulos."

Cap. 19. *Como el artilleria de nuestras galeras hizo retirar de la marina a don Diego de Meneses, para que los nuestros desembarcasen.* (How the artillery of our galleys obliged Don Diego de Meneses to retire from the shore, so that our troops could disembark.) 35.

Cap. 20. *Como acabo de desembarcar nuestro exercito, y passo a Cascaes.* (How our army finished disembarking and went to Cascaes.) 37.

Cap. 21. *Como saliero de Cascaes Sácho de Avila, y los continuos a una caualgada de Portugueses¹.* (How Sancho de Avila and the *continos* made a sortie from Cascaes on a cavalry attack by the Portuguese.) 38.

Cap. 22. *Como Henrique Pereyra de la Cerda no quiso entregar el Castillo de Cascaes, y le batieron.* (How Henry Pereyra de la Cerda refused to deliver up the castle of Cascaes, and it was bombarded.) 40.

Cap. 23. *Como embio don Antonio refresco al Castillo de Cascaes, y se dieron la villa de Cintra, y Colares.* (How Don Antonio sent provisions to the Castle of Cascaes, and the towns of Cintra and Colares surrendered.) 42.

Cap. 24. *Como ahorcaron a Henrique Pereyra de la Cerda, y degolleron a don Diego de Meneses.* (How they hanged Henry Pereyra de la Cerda, and Diego de Meneses was decapitated.) 43.

Cap. 25. *Como boluieron las galeras a Setubar por mas artilleria, y municiones.* (How the galleys returned to Setubar for more artillery and munitions.) 45.

Cap. 26. *Como salio a correr la tierra Sancho de Avila, y mataron el cauallo a don Sancho de Luna.* (How Don Sancho de Avila went out to make a raid, and the horse of Don Sancho de Luna was killed.) 46.

Cap. 27. *Como partio el Real desde Cascaes hasta sant Gian de Hueras.* (How the Royal Head Quarters were moved from Cascaes to St. John of Hueras.) 47.

Cap. 28. *Como se planto nuestra artilleria, y comenzó a batir el castillo de S. Gian, y una escaramuza de los cōtinios.* (How we planted our artillery and commenced to bombard the castle of St. John, and a skirmish of the *continos*.) 49.

Cap. 29. *Como prosiguió la bateria en el castillo de San Giā, y de las centinelas perdidas que hacia la caualleria.* (How the bombardment of the Castle of St. John continued, and of the scouts of the cavalry.) 51.

Cap. 30. *Como se rindio el castillo de S. Gian de Hueras.* (How the castle of St. John of Hueras surrendered.) 53.

Cap. 31. *Como entro el Prior en el Castillo de san Gian, y puso en libertad la gente que en el havia.* (How the Prior entered the Castle of St. John and set at liberty those who were there.) 55.

¹ *Contino.* This word does not appear in Barcia's *Diccionario General Etimológico*, but he gives "continuo: oficio antiguo en la casa real de Castile." In the *Nuevo Diccionario* of Velázquez de la Cardena (former Professor of Spanish in Columbia University, N.Y.), Revised: N.Y. and London, 1900, p. 170, *contino* (not *continuo*) is defined as "Ancient office in the royal house of Castile." But under "Continuo," Velázquez gives, "(1) a whole composed of united parts. (2) One of the hundred yeomen formerly appointed in Spain to guard the King's person and palace. The same definition is given by Pages in his *Gran Diccionario* (Barcelona). In the first English-Spanish Dictionary, *Biblioteca Hispanica*, 1501, (title page E.E. under date,) we get "Contino: always, semper, continué, perpetuo." There being such vagueness of definition, it was necessary to appeal to the Director of the Academy of History of Spain, who explained, "Era el de *Contino* un oficio que existia antigua en la Casa del Rey. Los *continos* servian como de guardia y habia entre ellos hombres civiles y militares. Llamáronse asi porque continuamente prestaban este servicio. Eran ciento en número y se les decia los ciento *continos*." (The office of *Contino* was one which existed in old times in the Royal Household. The *continos* served as guards, and they included both civilians and soldiers. They were thus called [*continos*] because they rendered this service continuously. They were a hundred in number and were called the hundred *Continos*.) (The Duke of Berwick and Alba to E. M. Tenison, April, 1935.)

This latter definition is given in the revised *Diccionario de la Lengua Española*, Real Academia, Madrid, 1925, not under *contino* but "continuo." The Duke of Alba, however, is certain that the word "continuo" is the same as the 16th century *contino*. In Escobar's narrative the *continos* appear to be veterans enjoying considerable prestige. The Duke remarks that so little has the Spanish language changed in essentials that *contino* is the only word in Escobar's *Recopilación* which requires elucidation today.

Cap. 32. *Como nuestra armada entro por la barra de sant Miguel.* (How our force entered by the bar of S. Miguel.) 56.

Cap. 33. *como salieron los ginetez a correr la tierra; y de vna escaramuza a que tuvo el Capitan Heredia.* (How the light cavalry went out to make a raid and of the skirmish in which Captain Heredia was.) 57.

Cap. 34. *como embio dñ Antonio embuxada al Duque, y se embarcaron los hombres de armas que havian quedado en Setubar.* (How Antonio sent emissaries to the Duke, and the men at arms who had remained in Setubal were embarked.) 58.

Cap. 35. *Como el Duque estuuo una noche en lu mar, aguardando a don Antonio sobre concierto, y no fue.* (How the Duke remained at night at sea, waiting as concerted for Don Antonio, and he did not come.) 60.

Cap. 36. *como salio el Duque a buscar a don Antonio a la campa a por donde andaua.* (How the Duke went out to seek for Don Antonio in the open country where he was going about.) 62.

Cap. 37. *como se guno la torre de Belen.* (How the tower of Belém was taken.) 64.

Cap. 38. *como se rindieron algunos pueblos, y la disposicion del monasterio, y torre de Belen.* (How some places surrendered, and what arrangements were made about the monastery and the tower of Belém.) 66.

Cap. 39. *como se dio la batalla a don Antonio media legua antes de Lisboa.* (How battle was given to Don Antonio half a league outside Lisbon.) 69.

Cap. 40. *de la segunda parte de la batalla.* (Of the second part of the battle.) 72.

Cap. 41. *como el Duque mando alojar la caualleria en los arranales de Lisboa, y de lo que saquearon en ellas.* (How the Duke sent the Cavalry to billet in the suburbs of Lisbon, and of what they plundered in them.) 77.

Cap. 42. *como se fue don Antonio hauiendo perdido la batalla.* (How Don Antonio retired having lost the battle.) 79.

Cap. 43. *como juro Lisboa a su Mag. y leuato pendones.* (How Lisbon swore allegiance to His Majesty, and raised the standards.) 81.

Cap. 44. *como embio el Duque gente desde Lisboa sobre Coymbra donde estaua don Antonio.* (How the Duke sent people from Lisbon to Coimbra where Don Antonio was.) 83.

Cap. 45. *como fue puesta en las puertas de Lisboa una prouision de su Magestad.* (How a proclamation of His Majesty was posted up at the gates of Lisbon.) 85.

Cap. 46. *como Sancho de Auila yua marchando con campo siguiendo a don Antonio la buelta de Coymbra.* (How Sancho de Avila marched with his camp in pursuit of Don Antonio in the direction of Coimbra.) 86.

Cap. 47. *como Sancho de Auila dava orden en que se busciesen barchas para passu a Duero, despues que se huiiese ganado el burgo de Oporto.* (How Sancho de Avila gave order to look for boats so as to make the passage of the Douro after the town of Oporto had been taken.) 87.

Cap. 48. *como fallecio la Reyna doña Anna se ora nuestra, en la prosecucion desta jornada, estando en la ciudad de Badajoz.* (How the Queen our Lady Anna died during this expedition, being in the city of Badajoz.) 89.

Cap. 49. *como el capitán Serrano fue a buscar barchas del otro cabo de Duero.* (How Captain Serrano went to search for boats on the other side of the Douro.) 91.

Cap. 50. *como hauiendo desembarcado el campo, enuistio con don Antonio, y la desbarato.* (How having disembarked his camp he attacked Don Antonio, and routed him.) 92.

Cap. 51. *como su Magestad pacificamente fue tomando possession con su real persona en el Reyno de Portugal, hauiendo primero llamado a cortes de grandes, y perlados, y procuradores de cortes de las ciudades, a la villa de Tomar, y alli juro los fueros de aquell Reyno, y le juraron por Rey.* (How His Majesty peacefully took possession in his royal person of the kingdom of Portugal, having first called a Cortes of Grandees, and prelates, and representatives of the Cortes of the cities, to the town of Tomar, and swore to the constitutions, while they took oath to him as King.) 95.

Cap. 52. *De la forma que tenia el Theatro donde se hizo la junta: y del assiento que cada uno tenia.* (Of the arrangement of the theatre where the assembly was held: and of the seat which each one occupied.) 97.

Cap. 53. *Del parlamento que hizo en la junta el Obispo de Leria.* (Of the speech which the Bishop of Leria made to the assembly.) 99.

Cap. 54. *Del juramento que hizo su Magestad y el de los señores y perlados, y procuradores de cortes.* (Of the oaths which his Majesty took, and the Lords, and prelates, and representatives of the Cortes.) 100.

Cap. 55. *Del perdon general que su Magestad concedio en las cortes de Tomar, al Reyno de Portugal despues que fue jurado por Rey.* (Of the general pardon His Majesty granted in the Cortes of Tomar, to the Kingdom of Portugal after allegiance was sworn to him.) 102.

Cap. 56. *De la entrada que hizo su Magestad en Sancteren, y despues en Villafranca, y Almada.* (Of the entry His Majesty made into Santarem, and afterwards into Villafranca and Almada.) 106.

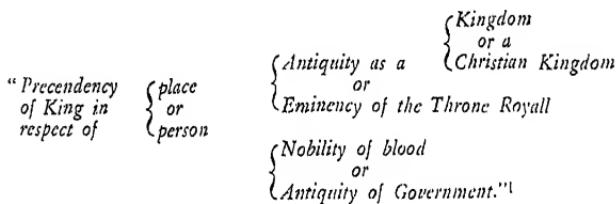
Cap. 57. *De la entrada que su Magestad hizo en la ciudad le Lisboa; y en que tiempo bolvio a Custilla, despues de hauer hecho que jurassen al Principe don Phelippe su hijo, y señor nuestro.* (Of the entry His Majesty made into the city of Lisbon; and at what time he went back to Castille, after making the oaths be taken to the Prince Don Philip his son and our Lord.) 108.

Though Escobar's *Recopilacion* is not among Lord Burghley's military books (listed by the present writer at Hatfield House), the facts it embodies were well understood by Queen Elizabeth's Councillors. They knew that even as King Philip had entered Lisbon in triumph, so he intended to ride into London. Aware of his ambition, they prepared themselves and the nation to avert its fulfilment.¹

¹ Until the publication of "Elizabethan England," Vol. IV, 1934, elucidating the Spanish victories of 1580-1583, there existed no modern work in English restoring these crucial events to their original proportions.

If our ancestors had underrated the potential adversary, the future of England must have been entirely different. The present Director of the Academy of History of Spain once asked, "What would have happened if the 3rd Duke of Alba and the 1st Marquis of Santa Cruz had survived to combine against England in 1588, as they did against Portugal in 1580?" But in the latest English "History of Spain," London, 1934, Santa Cruz is not mentioned at all, and King Philip is described as annexing Portugal in 1581 in right of his mother: without any reference to Alba and Santa Cruz having conquered that kingdom for him the previous summer.

APPENDIX II.

"THE QUESTION OF PRECEDENCY BETWEEN ENGLAND
AND SPAINE."

Having seen Lord Burghley's testimony to the unity of the Spaniards and the strength of King Philip, we should observe English efforts to counterbalance Spanish power by a strong reaffirmation of the greater antiquity of the English Monarchy.

To quote the "*Briefe Abstract*" of Sir Robert Cotton as to the precedence of England, may seem premature, in so far as he did not draw it up until after 1588, and it was not printed until the second half of the seventeenth century. But the arguments he embodied had been in use all through Elizabeth's reign. She had claimed in her first Parliament that in "restoring to the Crown the ancient Jurisdiction over the State Ecclesiastical and Spiritual," she did no more than "the Ancient Kings of this Realm."²

After the victories of Alba and Santa Cruz in 1580, '82, and '83, the world-power was with Spain. If we knew nothing of the events of 1588, and looked at the map of the vast Spanish Empire upon which the sun never set, and contrasted it with the tiny "Empire" of Elizabeth, we would imagine that a struggle between two such powers could end only one way,—in the complete overthrow of the lesser, and an unqualified mastery by the greater. But the English of Elizabeth's time were permeated with a sense of dignity both national and individual; and far from the Queen's absolutism offending their instincts of liberty, they accepted the Crown as the bulwark against "the Leviathan of Spain."

Philip's command of the Ocean-Sea was no mere figure of speech. He had ports all over the known world where his ships could take in water and provisions; whilst England, since the loss of Calais, had only home ports. The daily life of our merchant mariners even in peace was therefore almost like a war,—in that to be captured by Spaniards, Turks or Moors, was a possibility for every crew which ventured beyond the Narrow Seas.

As to the New World, though Sir Humphrey Gilbert in 1583 had annexed Newfoundland "in the name of the Crown of England," its colonisation was a thing of the future. And the

¹ "A Briefe Abstract Of the Question of Precedence between England and Spaine; Occasioned by Sir Henry Nevill The Queen of England's Ambassador, and the Ambassador of Spaine, at Calais, Commissioners appointed by the French King, who had moved a Treaty of Peace in the 42. year of the same Queen. Collected by Robert Cotton Esquire, at the commandement of her Majesty." Printed in "*Cottoni Posthuma: Divers Choice Pieces of that Renowned Antiquary Sir Robert Cotton, Knight & Baronet, Preserved from the injury of Time, & Expos'd to the public light, for the benefit of Posterity, By J. H. Esqre., London, Printed by Francis Leach, for Henry Sale over against St. Dunstans Church in Fleetstreet 1651.*"

² E.E. vol. I, p. 148.

hundred men sent to America in 1584 by Raleigh, to the region afterwards called Virginia, had not at the time any effect upon the political situation; though to-day in many English and American text books Raleigh is treated as if he had been an English Columbus.¹

That after acquiring the enormous Empire of Portugal, King Philip thought himself certain of conquering England, was not vanity and bombast; it seemed a reasonable forecast.

The large part played in the English resistance by a widespread conviction of the superior antiquity of England's Monarchy, is omitted from our modern histories. The assertion of Froude that the great enterprises of the 16th century were born of mere "unrest" and that the protagonists themselves did not understand the reasons for their own deeds, is an injustice which has passed muster too long. It was Froude who did not look for the reasons.²

Much is said to-day of the Elizabethan era as an age of new men. But not so did the Elizabethans themselves regard it. Their resolve to expand the power of England was based on stories of Alfred the Great and Richard Coeur de Lion. And although Queen Elizabeth had officially repudiated the authority of the Pope, Chronicles of the Crusades had never lost their popularity. Moreover the national claim was that as Christianity came to this island while St. Paul was still on earth, England should take precedence of France and Spain.

It was argued that the Gothic Kings in Spain were never styled "*Rex Hispaniae* but *Gothorum*," that Castile was not a kingdom till 1017 A.D., the rulers previously being only "Earls of Castile"; whereas, said the English, the kingdom of England began as such at least four and a half centuries before the kingdom of Castile.

Englishmen claimed that "Joseph of Arimathea planted Christian Religion" at Glastonbury "immediately after the passion of Christ"; and that "the first that ever advanced the papacie of Rome was the Emperor Constantine, *born at York*."

That "there have been more Kings and Princes of the blood Royall, Confessors and Martyrs in England, than in any one Province in Europe," was the bold contention: "and from Ethelbert King of Kent (converted Anno 596) until this day, Christianity hath been without interruption continued," wrote Cotton, circa 1589.

He asserted that though Saint James preached the Gospel in Spain, the Apostle made few immediate converts; and that after the expulsion of King Rodrick the last of the Goths, "Moorish Mahometisme from 707 years after Christ" was "in continuance 770 years, till Ferdinand King of Arragon and Castilia utterly expelled the Moors."

(The Spaniards could have retorted that though the Moslem Kingdom of Granada was not overthrown until Ferdinand and Isabella drove out the last Moorish King, the banner of the Cross had been resolutely kept aloft in Asturias after the defeat of King Rodrick the Goth; and that Spanish history, up to Ferdinand and Isabella's entry into Granada, had been one long Crusade.)

According to the English official argument, not only was Queen Elizabeth's power "*absolute in acknowledging no superior*," but the English Crown, not being in "vassalage to Pope or Emperour," was of a unique freedom. Despite the submission of King John to Pope Innocent III, the Sovereign and not the Pope had the ancient right to be supreme in England: "Eleutherius the Pope 1400 years agoe, in his Epistle to Lucius King of Brittaine, stiled him *Vicarus Dei in Regno suo*"; and so were all English Kings by "Edgar's Law." But King Philip was "in vassalage to the Pope" for the Indies, Granada, Navarre, Sicily, the Canary Islands, Naples and "Millaine" (Milan). In Aragón and Biscay his authority was restricted by "particular reservations"; as also in Brabant and the Netherlands.

¹ "RALEIGH IN VIRGINIA, 1584" appears in capitals even in Nichol's carefully compiled "*Tables of European History*," 1909; but neither then nor thereafter did Raleigh set foot in Virginia. See Brushfield's "*Bibliography of Sir Walter Raleigh*," 2nd ed: 1908, p. 46.

² But his pronouncement was not disputed until analysed in E.E. Vol. IV. p. 278. note.

(None the less, Philip contrived to be paramount, irrespective of conventions or formalities to the contrary.)

It was claimed for Queen Elizabeth that "Her Majesties power" was "*more absolute than any other Christian Prince*"; and the laws of Henry I, and of Edward I (anno '32 and '34) forbidding appeal to be made to Rome without the King's license, were instanced in proof of English independence. But the King of Spain—it was said—could not "prohibit the Popes Legat." (In theory not; but when Philip had been excommunicated, he forbade the bringing in of copies of the printed sentence from Rome; and the excommunication took so little practical effect that very soon the Pope became reconciled to His Majesty.)

That the Sovereigns of England being anointed, had hereditary power of healing, like those of France, was urged by Cotton.¹ He emphasised that England's Kings had long been the "Superior Lords of the Kingdom of Scotland." (Scotland indignantly repudiated this claim; but without convincing the English.)²

In the Treaty of Henry VII and Philip of Castile, 1506, the Commissioners of England had taken precedence, and in the Treaty of Marriage of Philip of Spain with Queen Mary the English names had been given first, said Cotton.

"The title of *Defensor fidei*" was "as justly bestowed upon the Kings of England, as *Christianissimus* upon the French or *Catholicus* upon the Spaniards." (The Catholics would have replied that when the Pope conferred the title on Henry VIII for answering the arguments of Luther, it was authentic; but that they did not recognise his successors, except Queen Mary, as having any right to it.)³

"England is not subject to Imperiall and Roman Laws, as other Kingdoms are, but retaineth her ancient laws and *Iura municipalia*," declared the Queen's Ministers. But "The King of Spaine [is] yet in the Infancie of his Kingdome"!

The relative size of the two Empires make these contentions appear audacious in the extreme. But "as a man thinketh in his heart, so he is"; and it was belief in the ancient precedence of the English Monarchy which gave humble and obscure ship-masters of merchant barks, circa 1584, such pride of race, and such deep-rooted faith in the destiny of "our English nation," that they prepared to resist the superlative power of Spain.

¹ Cotton added that as the Spanish Kings have no heaven-sent power of healing, therefore "into France doe yearly come multitudes of Spaniards to be healed" by the French King.

² In 1547, "*Excusum Londini in oedibus R. Graftoni*," (12mo. B.L.) was issued "*An Exhortacion to the Scottes, to conforme themselves to the honorable expediēt, & godly union, betwene the twoo Realmes of Englande & Scotalnde, by James Harryson, Scottisheman*." Dedicated to the Duke of Somerset, and issued shortly before the battle of Musselburgh. The following year, "*Excusum Londoni in oedibus R. Graftoni*," there had appeared "*An Epitome of the title that the Kynges Maiestie of Englannde hath to the Sovereigntie of Scotalnd, continued upon the auncient writers of both nacion*," (B.L. 12mo. Catalogue of John Scott's Library, 1905. p. 146.)

³ "*Libello huic regia haec insunt. Oratio Joannis Clark apud, Ro. Pon. in exhibitione operis regii*," &c. "*Assertio Septem sacramentorum Adversus Martin Lutheri, edita ab inuictissimis Angliae et Franciae rege, et do. Hyberniae Henrico eius nominis octaua. Epistola Regia ad Illustrissimos Saxoniae Dukes Pii Admonitoris*." (Colophon), "*Apud inelytam ubem Londinum in aedibus Pynson ianis, An. MDXXI, quarti Idus Iulii.*"

*"EL ATAQUE": TAPESTRY MADE FOR THE 3rd DUKE OF ALBA
at Brussels by William Pannemacker.*

*Now reproduced from the original in possession of the 17th Duke of Alba
(and 10th Duke of Berwick), in the Palacio de Liria.*

Observe in the border the initials F. M., for Fernando (the Duke) and Maria (the Duchess): also the ancient coat of arms of the House of Alba (Alvarez de Toledo), chequy *argent* and *azure*. These tapestries come from the Casa de Alba de Tormes: three pieces, traditionally called "*El Ataque*," "*El paso del Rio*," and "*La Victoria*," believed to represent different stages of the battle of Jemmingen. The present Duke of Alba in his *Discurso* (1919) on his great ancestor's character, actions and possessions (p. 34), mentioned that the Jemmingen identification had been questioned. But he has since reconsidered the circumstances and confirms the traditional name. And a Flemish cartographer—while asking whether there is any contemporary statement that all three represent one battle—adds the following comments (1936):—

"On 'El Ataque' it is difficult to see a river. . . . On 'La Victoria' on the top of the picture is a road which resembles the road on 'El Ataque.' 'El paso del Rio' may mean the passage of the Meuse near Maestricht, by the Prince of Orange, which was a success at first for him; but on the coming up of the Duke of Alba's army he was obliged to retire. [If the traditional names are correct] then all three would belong to the campaign of 1568, when the first successful attack by the Spaniards was near Jemmingen."

It seems therefore likely that the Duke would have chosen to commemorate this battle. But the topographical details are not nearly so minute as those in the famous Conquest of Tunis tapestries made for the Emperor Charles V, and brought by his son Philip to England to show to Queen Mary's subjects in 1554. Contemporary copies of these were shown in England in our own day, when lent by King Alfonso to the Anglo-Spanish Exhibition.

The reputed Jemmingen tapestries are made of coloured silks and wools, yellow, blue and green, with gold and silver thread. The second and third of the series do not lend themselves to reproduction as satisfactorily as "*El Ataque*," there having been difficulty in getting strong enough light for the photography.

Though tapestry is said to have been introduced into England first by the Castilian wife of King Edward I, it is believed not to have been made by English weavers until Henry VIII's time, and not to have been an established industry until the reign of Elizabeth: for which last see "*Elizabethan Sheldon Tapestries. By John Humphreys, M.A., F.S.A., Hon. Reader of Mediaeval Archaeology, Birmingham University, President of the Birmingham Archaeological Society*," Oxford University Press, 1929. With halftone portraits of two Sheldons, and picture of Barcheston Manor, Warwickshire, where from 1561 to 1647 the work was carried on. See also, facing pp. 22, 23, 24, Drayton House Tapestries made under the Sheldons' auspices for Robert Dudley Earl of Leicester, with his coat of arms. See also "*Handbook of English Sixteenth Century Tapestries*," Victoria and Albert Museums; and "*Tapestry Portfolio*," iii, 1915; and "*Catalogue of Tapestries*," 1924. (The Armada tapestries devised by our Lord High Admiral for the House of Lords will be considered under date of the events portrayed.)

Romances

N V E V A M E N T E S A C A -
d o s d e h i s t o r i a s a n t i g u a s d e l a C r o -
n i c a d e E s p a ñ a p o r L o r e n ç o
d e S e p u l u e d a v e z i n o
d e S e u i l l a .

Van añadidos muchos nîca vistos,
compuestos por vn cauallero
Cesarío, cuyo nombre se
guarda para mayo-
res cosas.



E N A N V E R S .
En casa de Philippo Nucio.
1566
Con priuilegio.

By the courtesy of Messrs. Maggs Bros.

The "Cronica de España" referred to on the above title page is of the 13th century, and was compiled by or for Alfonso X of Castile: whose sister Eleanor married Prince Edward of England, subsequently Edward I, and became ancestor of all the future Sovereigns of England; also of many English noble families.

The antiquity of Spanish ballad poetry was part of its charm; the earliest "Cancionero General" printed in 1510, is described on the title page as "Obras de todos o de los mas principales Trobadores de España assi antiguos como modernes"; and in 1823 the first English translator of "Ancient Spanish Ballads Historical & Romantic," John Gibson Lockhart, Sir Walter Scott's son-in-law, praised the Cancioneros as "by far the oldest, as well as the largest, collection of popular poetry . . . that is to be found in the literature of any European nation whatsoever."

The "Cancionero de Romances," Antwerp, 1555, was followed in 1566 by the "Romances" compiled by Lorenzo de Sepulvedo, as above; and in 1579 there was issued at Alcalá "Romancero Historico." Despite the Moorish rebellion of 1568-70 (See E.E. Vol. I, pp. 308-309), King Philip did not prohibit the ancient ballads, in which the valour of the Moorish foe was conspicuous. (See Note E.E. p. 23).

Among books in possession of Mary Queen of Scots, 1566-67, was "Contronero [sic] de Romances"; probably those published at Antwerp. See Sharman, "The Library of Mary Queen of Scots," (1889), p. 102. She possessed also (p. 56) "Ane compend of the Chronicles in Spanish."

"A NEW WORLD AND A BOUNDLESS EMPIRE."

"No one can approach Spain without feelings of the deepest interest, different indeed from those which animate the traveller on first seeing the more classic shores of Greece or Italy, but still of a character which awakens many a stirring thought Subject in turn to Carthage and to Rome; then conquered by the Goths, whose power fell to pieces on the banks of the Guadalete, she was laid low at the foot of the Moslem, until a new dynasty sprang up in the fastness of the Asturias.

"Divided into many kingdoms, almost incessantly at war with each other, her energies became gradually concentrated on the one great object, that of rescuing her soil from its Mohommedan rulers.

"Animated by religious enthusiasm, the untiring efforts of more than seven hundred years were at last crowned with success; and the triumph of the Cross was rewarded with the discovery of a new world and a boundless empire. Rapidly rising to the highest pinnacle of greatness, . . . in military power, in wealth and commerce, she dazzled the world with her glories"¹

But even when Philip II, King of all the Spains (*todas las Españas*), became master also of the great Empire of Portugal, few Englishmen forgot that it had not been till the end of the 15th century, when Ferdinand and Isabel rode as conquerors into Granada, that Spain was reunited under one Crown.²

During the final reading of these proofs, a picture of the ancient archiepiscopal city of Toledo is added,—collotype 4^a—showing the famous Alcázar, which now, 24th of September, 1936, is being held against enormous odds; the dauntless remnant of the defenders refusing to capitulate though during the last few weeks the outer walls have been reduced to ruins.

While many of Spain's world-renowned treasures of architecture and art have perished tragically, the fight for the Alcázar shows that the recent material destructions have not quenched the pride of Spain: of which the cathedrals, castles, sculptured tombs, frescoes, and other triumphs of inspired craftsmanship, were the visible expression. It will be for future historians to describe the war of 1936; but it may now be suitably placed on record that the present volume is not issued in time of ease and peace, but while Spain is in the throes of the most crucial struggle yet experienced for preservation of her traditions, nationality, and life itself.

¹ "Castile and Andalucia. By Lady Louisa Tenison. London: Richard Bentley, Publisher in Ordinary to Her Majesty. MD.CCC.LIII." pp. 1-2.

² The Spanish Empire can be studied today from the "Colección de documentos inéditos relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y organización de antiguas posesiones españolas de ultramar . . . publicada por la Real Academia de la Historia"; and also in the "Colección de documentos inéditos para la Historia de Ibero-América." The great progress in appreciation of the State Papers during the reigns of Alfonso XII and Alfonso XIII, may be realised by looking back to Lady Louisa Tenison's venturesome but fruitless visit to Simancas in 1852, see E.E., Vol. I, p. 156.

THE CITY OF TOLEDO

From a drawing by Lady Louisa Tenison

Published in her "Castile and Andalucia," 1853, facing p. 470.

Now reproduced because the Alcázar, shown in this sketch, is at this moment (September, 1936) the scene of one of the most crucial conflicts in the history of the world. (See E.E. p. 22.)

"Toledo," wrote Lady Louisa Tenison, in 1853, "is, perhaps, the most interesting town in Spain Others call forth recollections and tales of the wars of Moor and Christian; but in Toledo the mind may dwell on still earlier days when the Gothic monarchs ruled Spain"

"Nothing can be wilder than the scenery, the granite rocks tossed about in strange craggy forms, crowned by the buildings of the town, all alike presenting a colour so uniform that except under strong effects of light and shade, it is hardly possible to distinguish the one from the other."

At the time of adding this picture to volume V of the present history, the Alcazar has been mined and battered into a shapeless mass of wreckage; but its fame will endure for ever.

SPANISH TRAGEDIES AND TRIUMPHS.

Lockhart began his "*Ancient Spanish Ballads*" with the Lament of Don Rodrick, "one of the oldest among the great number relating to the Moorish conquest of Spain":—

"Last night I was the King of Spain. Today no King am I;
 Last night fair castles held my train; tonight where shall I lie?
 Last night a hundred pages did serve me on the knee;
 Tonight not one I call mine own; not one pertains to me."

Not only did King Philip allow circulation of tragical songs on the overthrow of the Christian Kingdom; he licensed also a prose "*Historia de la Conquista de España por los Moros . . . Por Abul Kacim Tarif Aben Taric traducida al español por Miguel de Luna*," etc., Granada, Part I, (René Rabut) 1592; and Part II, (Sebastian de Mena,) 1599.

The story begins in the year 91 of the Hegira (712, A.D.), when "Spain was governed by a King call'd Rodrigo, of the Race of the Goths, a People that came into that Country from the farthest parts of the North, and who made profession of the Christian Religion. This Kingdom did then enjoy a profound Peace, . . ."

The wrong done by King Rodrick to Florinda the daughter of Count Julian, the indignation of Julian spurring him to bring the Moors from Africa to aid his revenge and to overthrow his Sovereign, is described from what purported to be an Arabic MS. in the Escorial; the alleged author thus explaining "the reasons that made me take Pen in hand . . .

"I was present in that War, from the first day that General Tariff entered Spain with Count Julian, until he had finished that Conquest . . . there was no Battel nor Occasion but where I was in Person, excepting the Sieges of Carmona, and of Merida; by reason that at that time I was in the Province of Granada, with that great Captain . . . I have been an eye witness of most of the things whereof I speak;" and also consulted "Principal Officers and Generals" for the perfecting of the accuracy of the History. "Wherefore I hope that those as shall take the pains to read it, instead of wondering at my Boldness, will con me thanks for my Good Will . . ."

The graphic story was accepted eagerly, and translated into French and Italian. But there was not any English translation until 1687, when this "*History of the Conquest of Spain by the Moors Composed in Arabick by Abulcacim Tariff Abentariq, one of the Generals in that Spanish Expedition; and Translated into Spanish by Michael de Luna, Interpreter to Philip II.*" was dedicated by "M. T." (unidentified) "To the Illustrious and High-Born Prince, James Fitz-James, Duke of Berwick, Earl of Tinmouth, Baron of Bosworth &c.," direct ancestor of James Fitz-James Stuart, 10th Duke of Berwick and 17th Duke of Alba, now Director of the Academy of History of Spain.

But despite Miguel de Luna's description of an Arabic original, if any such existed it was not of the 8th century but of the 16th; and most likely he concocted it himself.¹

We may wonder whether King Philip believed in the supposed discovery of an ancient narrative? It seems more probable that as the Spaniards were taunted by the Prince of Orange for being "of the blood of Moors," Luna's presentation of that race, as romantic, chivalrous, and civilised, was circulated as a means of softening the reproach.

¹ The ballads have been revived by Menéndez Pidal, facsimile edition of "*Cancionero de Romances impresos en Amberes sin Año*," issued by the Junta para Ampliación de Estudios, Madrid 1914; and "*Poesía Juglaresque y Juglares*" (1924), ranging from the earliest days to the end of the 14th century. See also "*Poesía Española*," Vols I-II, ed: Alonso & Guillen, 1935.

² "Esta obra es una verdadera misticación literaria que tuvo gran éxito en su tiempo. El autor, Miguel de Luna, morisco de Granada, intérprete oficial de lengua árabe y avezado a toda clase de fraudes, fingió haber descubierto en la Biblioteca del Escorial un manuscrito que calificó de Historia Verdadera del Rey Don Rodrigo. Para despistar puso al margen algunos vocablos árabigos como muestra de fidelidad. El libro fué recibido con éxito, siendo objeto de multitud de combinaciones editoriales, traducciones a lenguas extranjeras, arreglos &c. pero como Luna tuvo parte en la superchería de los libros plumbeos del Sacro Monte de Granada y se inspiró en los falsos crónicas, su fraude fué descubierto y si bien el éxito popular de su libro duró aun más de un siglo, entre los eruditos cargó en descrédito y la obra fué calificada de simple novela o historia fabulosa."

PART III.

“*Ambitious, Politic, and Valiant.*”

CHAPTER I.

“IF YOUR MAJESTY HAD ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND.”

SECTION 2.

“*The Dismissal of the Ambassador of Spayne.*”

(*Don Bernardino de Mendoza's Correspondence with the Queen of Scots, and its results, 1582-84*).

“. . . to re-establish the Catholic religion, and to place the Queen of Scotland peacefully on the throne of England which rightly belongs to her.”

Memo by Henry of Lorraine, Duke of Guise, for Charles Paget; August, 1583. (plans for the Invasion of England: Paris Archives, K.1562. Cal: S.P.S. III, p. 505).

“Her right is as open and as clere as the bright Sonne.”

“*A Treatise touching the Right, Title and interest . . . of the most excellent Princesse, Marye Queene of Scotland . . . to the succession of the Crowne of England.*” [1584].

“The Spanish Ambassador was yesterday, by her Majesty's order, commanded to depart the realm . . . being charged to have had intelligence with the Scots Queen, . . . to have had divers conferences . . . of the means how to invade the realm, . . . and other such like practices; wherein . . . he hath been a dealer against her Majesty and the State.”

Sir Francis Walsingham to Sir Edward Stafford. 10 January 1583-4. (S.P. France XI. 5).

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE II, MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.

The quotations in the ensuing section are from a British Museum copy of Bishop Lesley's *"Right, Title and Interest"* of the Queen of Scots. The titles of other editions are undernoted from the *"Catalogue of the Valuable and Extensive Library of the late John Scott, Esqre, C.B., Halkhill, Largs, Ayrshire . . . sold by auction by Messrs. Sotheby" &c. &c. in 1905.* As explained in the Preface, Scott aimed at making his collection complete, within chosen limits: "Interested professionally as a shipbuilder, in marine architecture and engineering, and, as a yachtsman, in navigation and seamanship," his Naval Section (pp. 265 to 288) contained many books of "extreme rarity." "As a Colonel of Artillery in the Volunteer Force" he was as attracted to martial as to maritime themes. Geography and cartography, early science of the XIV and XV centuries; also 16th century theology on both sides, appealed to him.

The "outstanding" importance of the Library" consisted of "Scottish books and Manuscripts"; and "the famous Mary Queen of Scots collection" was "by far the finest in any library, and of many of the books in it no other copies are known. Of the 289 named in Mr. Scott's *'Bibliography of Books relating to Mary Queen of Scots, 1554-1700'* printed in 1896 for the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society," [25 copies only] "no less than 200" are included in the Sale Catalogue . . . "There are, besides, at least 24 others obtained after the issue of the Bibliography."

No Scottish patriot came forward in 1905 to save for the nation a Library which brought only £18,250 when the treasures were scattered and dispersed among hundreds of purchasers, but which would have been of immeasurably more value if kept intact.

As to the treatise by Bishop Lesley, which from 1569 to 1587 was the most important publication on behalf of his ill-fated Queen, the following were the principal editions in Scott's possession:

(1.) 1569 A.D. *"A Defence of the Honour of the Right Highe Mighty & Noble Princesse Marie Quene of Scotlande & dowager of France, with a declaration as well of her right title and intereste to the Succession of the Crowne of England" &c.* "Imprinted at London in Flete Strete, at the Signe of Justice Royall against the Black Bull, by Eusebius Dicacophile anno 1569." (Spurious imprint. Most likely printed in France. Only 4 copies known to Sotheby. Catalogue p. 165.)

(2.) 1571. *The same: "made by Morgan Philippes, Bachelor of Divinity. An. 1567."* sm. 8vo. Leodii apud Gualt. Morberium. 1571.

(3.) 1571. *The same: "An. 1571."*

(4.) 1580. *"De Titulo et Jure Sereniss. Principis Mariae Scotorum Reginae quo Regni Angliae Successionem sibi juste vendicat, libellus; et De Illustrum Foeminarum in Reipub^{la} ferendis legibus auctoritate."* sm: 4to. "Rhemis, Jo. Fogny, 1580."

Two title pages within woodcut armorial borders. (Folding Genealogical table).

(5.) 1584. *"A Treatise touching the Right, Title and Interest of the most excellent Princesse Mary Queen of Scotland, and of the most noble King James, her Graces Sonne to the Succession of the Crowne of England; wherein is contained as well a Genealogie of the Competitors pretending to the same Crowne" &c. 1584.* (Folding Genealogical table).

Portraits on verso of title page (See collotype reproduction, E.E. plate 5) No name of printer or place of printing.

(6.) N.D. "Du Droict et Tiltre de la Serenissime Princesse Marie Royne d'Escosse, & de tres illustre Prince Jaques VI Roy d'Escosse son fils à la Succession du Royaulme d'Angleterre, nouvellement mis en François par le même Autheur." Rouen, Geo. l'Oyslet. 8vo. No date.

(7.) N.D. "Declaration del Titulo y derecho que la Serenissima Princessa Doña Maria Reyna de Escocia tiene a la Sucession del Inglaterra." (sic. in Sotheby's Catalogue, p. 167, item 1551; but more likely "del Corona de Inglaterra.") sm. 8vo. no date or place but possibly Rouen. The first Spanish translation.

For further titles of Bishop Lesley's Works see Catalogue of John Scott's Library, pp. 165-168. The MSS include "A Register of the Proceedings in the charge of Ambassadour of a reverend father John Leslie Byshoppe of Rosse, conteininge the whole Proceedings from his entries into England in September 1568 to December 1573; the double of this booke was sent to the Queene of Scottes in more ample forme of discourse written in November 1573." MS. 113 leaves, sm: 4to; old calf; with arms of her grandson Henry, Prince of Wales, on the cover.

Also MS. copy, (made in 1859, partly by Father Joseph Stevenson, S.J.,) of Lesley's earliest History, "De Rebus in Scotia Gestis post serenissimae Principis Mariae Scotorum Reginac et Galliae in Scotiam redditum," "from the original(?) formerly in the Jesuits College of Ingoldstadt, now in Munich."¹

¹ For Bibliog: Note I, see E.E. Vol. I, p. 312 and Note III, Vol. VI. For previous references, see E.E., Vol. I, marriage with the Dauphin, 119; relations with Queen Elizabeth (1561-62) 205-210; (1563) 237-239; second marriage, 254-257; Scotland and France, 310; Italian view of her affairs, 313-314; defeat at Langside (1568) 315-322; her flight to England and its results, 323-336; the Casket Letters (forggeries) 337-343; Bassentyn's prediction, 324. Her portrait after Clouet, plate 56, facing p. 312. Vol. II: her letter to the Duke of Alba, 22; messages and token to her from Spain, 116; jewel she sent to Duke of Norfolk, plate 16 facing p. 128; Norfolk's intention to marry her, 130-134. Vol. III, her portrait now at Palacio de Liria, plate 20, facing p. 92.

“MARIAE SCOTORVM REGINAE”: AND HER SON KING JAMES.

From Bishop Lcsley's “*Treatise touching the Right, Title and Interest of . . . Mary Queene of Scotland and of the most noble King James . . . to the Succession of the Crowne of England*” &c., 1584, quoted in the ensuing section. (See Bibliographical Note II. E.E. p. 27).

When Francis Throckmorton was arrested for conspiring with the Spanish Ambassador for the invasion of England, his houses in town and country were searched for papers; and amongst them (as reported officially in “*A True & Perfect Declaration*,” &c., 1584) were found twelve genealogical tables “of the descent of the crowne of England, printed and published by the bishop of Rosse, in the defence of the pretended title of the Scottish queene, . . . with certeine infamous libels against hir maiestie printed and published beyond the seas . . .”

Lord Burghley preserved (and bound in vellum with his coat of arms in gilt on back and front) a copy of the Latin version of “*De Titulo et Jure . . . Mariae Scotorum Reginae*,” with the pedigree. (His copy used to be in possession of Messrs. Ellis, of 29 New Bond Street, W.).

STEMMA IX. MARIAE SCOTORVM REGINÆ
VIVÆ VITA ET RES GESTÆ LIBR^o 12. HISTORIÆ DECIMO DESCRIPTVÆ



MARIA septem dies nata patre in
Regnum succedit: quid dicim
ad XX. ieiuniis annorum (cuius tem
poris acta, quibus comitit histo
ria) per fratrem reges administratorem,
brevi interim, aut ab exercitu aut
cuali bello vacuit. Verum Regna
in summis rei difficultatibus sum
mum et admirandum planis animis
fortitudinem semper ostendit,
ut in historijs Jo. leslii Episcopi
R. sensus ullere licet.

PART III.

“*Ambitious, Politic, and Valiant.*”

CHAPTER I.

“IF YOUR MAJESTY HAD ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND.”

SECTION 2.

“*The Dismyssion of the Ambassador of Spayne.*”

(*Don Bernardino de Mendoza's Correspondence with the Queen of Scots, and its results, 1582-84*).

DURING the eventful year 1584, there were smuggled into England two political pamphlets in the vulgar tongue, printed abroad. The one, anonymous, from an English pen, was intended to drag down Queen Elizabeth by defiling her and Lord Leicester with monstrous imputations. The other, dedicated by John Lesley, Bishop of Ross “To the most excellent and most gracievse Qvene Marie, and to the most noble king Iames her sonne,” and addressed jointly to “the English and Scottish nations,” was an eloquent and persuasive appeal that “after so many long warres, they wold now at last agree, and Ioyne together in one true league of fast friendshipp and amitie.”

This “*Treatise tovvching the Right, Title, and Interest*” of the Queen of Scots and King James “*to the succession of the Crowne of England*,” is as dignified, manly, good-hearted and scholarly, as the “*Copie of a Leter*,” now usually called “*Leicester's Commonwealth*,” is malicious, ill-written, and self-contradictory.

After the Queen of Scots had been sixteen years in captivity, the faithful Bishop was continuing resolutely to anticipate for her the happiness she was fated never to attain. His argument was based on the advantages to ensue from peace and concord between England and Scotland.

“. . . . as there is nothing so weake and slender, whiche by concorde may not be strengthened: so nothing is so strong but discorde can overturne it. And it is manifestlye knowne what famouse common welthes have bene defaced and ruyned by discorde and

sedition: and that no Empire is so wel fortified, no Citie so surely established, nor house so firmly builded, but that by hatred and dissention it may be overturned, pulled in pieces, disme(m)bred, and destroyed. . . .”¹

England and Scotland need “but this one thing,” a peaceful unity, “*to make you seeme the most happie people in the worlde.*” “*This Yland is so full fraught with all thinges necessarie to mannes use, as nothing is there wanting.*”

“. . . First, it is furnished with great store of all thinges nedefull, cyther for mannes profit, or for his pleasure: in so much as not only it hath no need of helpe of other Countries, but it is also able to supply the wantes, and to serve the turne of forreyners. And all this fertilitie and welth (as in a strong Yland environed every waye by sea) is sufficiently fenced and fortisid by the naturall situation, from all forain incursions and inrodes. Bysyde all this, the commoditie of soyle and eyr (be it spoken without offence of other nations) bringeth foorth manne and woman, cyther in respect of comelynesse of personage, strengthe of bodeye, or excellencie of witt, so perfect as else where in any place are hardlie to be found.

“Britaine therefore may well be accompted an Yland famed by nature and fashioned not only to defend it selfe, but also to beare a great swaye in the worlde.”²

In the earlier stages of the argument the Bishop is not so complimentary to the dwellers south of the Tweed.

“It is a common proverbe (sayth Polidor) that English menne, by an old custome, have least regarde of all other nations to the common wealthe of their own Countrie, ever inclined to factions, and by that meanes have layed their countrie open to the spoyle and prey of their enemies: . . . Cornelius Tacitus . . . sayeth that the Britaines were so diversely mynded, and distracted in suche and so many parties, as scarcely any two Cities would joyn together against a common peril: and thus, whiles one dyd stryve against an other, they all went to wracke.”

As to Queen Mary's affairs he refrains from descanting on “*the malytious stinges of perverse detractors,*” but takes his stand on genealogical facts. Even those English or Scots who most differed from his conclusions would not easily have been able to deny his premises. Reading his arguments to-day at safe distance from the controversy, we might wonder why so gentle a “*Treatise*” needed to be issued secretly without name of printer or place of printing, did we

¹ “*A Treatise touching the Right Title and Interest aswell of the most excellent Princesse, Marye Queene of Scotland, as of the most noble Kyng James, her Graces sonne, to the succession of the Croune of England. And first, touching the Genealogie, or pedigree of such Competitors, as pretend title to the same Croune.*” Decorated border with arms of England and France quarterly, also Scotland, Ireland, etc. The contents are the (a) Dedication 8½ pp., (b) “A Preface Conteyning the argyment of this Treatise, with the Cavyses mouyng the Author to wryte the same.” (c) “A declaration of the table” of competitors to the “Royal Throne of the Realme of England” showing Q. Marie's claim and her sonnes “ought Justly to barre all others” (p. 13). (d) “. . . a Table of the sayd Genealogie.” (e) “A fvurther proof of the sayd title of succession, with a Resoluton of the objections of the Adversaries.” (pp. 20-61); And finally “An Exhortation to the English and Scottish Nations, that after so long warres, they wold now at last agree, and Ioyne together in one true league of fast friendshipp and amitie.” (pp. 62-71).

² pp. 62 and 63; and see p. 12 and verso “*To the Nobilitie and people of England and Scotland, a Poesie made by T. V. an Englishman.*”

not recall that in the English Parliament of 1571 it had been made Treason for any person to attempt to say who should be Queen Elizabeth's successor.

Queen Mary's champion protests against "some lewd pamphlets" and dwells upon her position by birth.¹

His Historical Discourse, and Table of descents from Edward III "both lineal and collaterall," show Queen Mary directly representing Margaret Tudor, elder daughter of Henry VII, and being therefore the rightful heir to the Tudor Crown: "and yet some men attempted artificiallye to objecte and caste many mystie dark cloudes before mennes eyes, to keep from them . . . the cleare light of the sayd just title." "*Her right is as open and as clere as the bright Sonne*":

"most fortunate and most gratiouse shall the renowned Quene Mary of Scotland be, and her most noble sonne king Iames also, to the Englishe and Scottish Nation: yf by them two . . . God shall bringe the twoe severall kyngdomes to a perfect vnitie: reduce the whole Yle of Britaine to his most auncient estate of dignitie, and deliver it from all ciuill warres and Barbarous crueltie. Embrace therefore (ye Britaines . . .) and take hold of this singular great benefit. . . .

" . . . perpetuall peace and quyetnesse can not be among you, except these two Realmes be combined and made all one . . . if you desire the safety and welfare of your countrey, . . . : you must enforce yourselves with all labour, industrie and diligence, that this dispersed people may be called together, vnder the regiment of one rightfull Prince—"

Then follows the words "*and Catholique Religion of their auncestors.*" This was the main difficulty; for reasons concerning which Bishop Lesley either was deliberately silent or did not know the English nation well enough to understand.

Read with remembrance of the Declaration of Pope Pius V in 1569-70, and of the Northern Rising in 1569, the dismissal of the Spanish Ambassador Despes in December 1571, and the expulsion of Mendoza in 1583-4, the causes why this book neither convinced the majority of "the Nobility and People of England," nor melted the heart of Queen Elizabeth, are not far to seek. It was Queen

¹ Buchanan's ferocious attack, without name of author, printer or place of printing, is believed, but not proved, by John Scott to have been printed by Day in 1571. See "*Bibliog: of Mary Queen of Scots.*" No. 75: "*De Maria Scotorum Regina, totaque eius contra Regem coniuratione, foedo cum Bothuelio adulterio, nefaria in maritum crudelitate & rabie, horrendo insuper & deterrimo eiusdem parricido: plena & tragica plane Historia.*"

As mendacity and calumny usually have long life, this libel was revived in the next century, two years after the execution of Q. Mary's grandson Charles I: "*A Detection of the Actions of Mary Queen of Scots, concerning the Murder of her Husband, and her Conspiracie, Adulterie, and pretended Marriage with the Earl of Bothwell. And a Defence of the true Lords Maintainer of the Kings Majesties Action and Authoritie. Written in Latine by G. Buchanan. Translated into Scotch. And now made English. Printed in the year 1651.*" Frontispiece, "The true Portraiture of Princess Marie Queen of Scotland and Dowager of France." (1-133 pp., and prelims). A 10½ pp. preface adjures the people to observe the characteristics of "the Family of the Stewarts," and not remain "obstinate" in adherence to "that Tribe which is now scattered and ruined," and under whom "there had not been liberty, at least not safety to have put abroad such a Discourse as this." But even under the Cromwellian Republic in 1651 this eulogist of the libel held back his name; also that of the printer and place of printing.

Mary's inviolable constancy to the Church of Rome which made the "barre" between her and the open acknowledgment of her right of succession.

Some of her most ardent champions, who subsequently paid on the scaffold for their convictions, claimed more for her than the succession. They accepted the pronouncement of Pope Pius V, that "Elizabeth the pretended Queen" was a usurper, and that being bastard, heretical, and "excommunicate," no English subject should obey her. This threw them into the arms of Spain; for no transference of the Crown to the captive Queen Mary would have been possible without aid from King Philip. But the Spanish Ambassador, whom Queen Mary believed to be her devoted champion, regarded her only as a figure on the chess-board, to be moved as suited Spanish purposes. "It appears to me," he had written to his master in 1582, "*that nothing can be more injurious to your Majesty's interests, and to the hopes of converting this island, than that the French would get their fingers into the matter through the Queen of Scotland . . .*" He considered it essential that the Queen of Scots should remain in England, because her chief supporters were the English Catholics, who must in turn be upheld by King Philip; "*so that being mutually interdependent, they cannot [afford to] lose the shelter of your Majesty. I have used all possible artifice in letting the Queen of Scotland know that the best course she can adopt . . . is to decline to absent herself from the country . . .*"¹ (i.e., refuse to fall in with plots for her escape).

Mendoza sends the King a copy of a long letter from himself to Queen Mary, in which he urged that even if she could get away, though she might live in Spain or France, she would not then be sufficiently near England; and so would put herself out of a position in which to "*render so inestimable service to God as the conversion of those islands to the holy Catholic Church.*"²

Working upon her zeal for her faith, and affecting pity for her in her distress, Mendoza took every means to prevent her becoming her own master; even while soothingly assuring her that it was to be hoped the Almighty would soon bring about the fulfilment of her wishes by divine action, "*whilst all human efforts are being made towards the same end by the negotiation of his Holiness and the King my master.*"

The Queen of Scots thanked him "affectionately" for his "good advice"; and confided in him that she did not expect to have long to wait, in that her cousin the Duke of Guise still held to his original determination to land with an army in England.³

King Philip at this time was urging that the Pope should make a liberal contribution to Guise's enterprise: "*The obligation is one which rests especially upon his Holiness, and he is free of the many calls which hinder me.*"⁴ Philip

¹ 6th May. Cal: S.P.S. III. p. 466. ² Ib: pp. 467-470.

³ 5 June 1582. Cal: S.P.S. III. p. 475. ⁴ To J. B. de Tassis. 6 June. Ib:.

privately wrote to ask Mendoza his opinion of Guise; and also whether Guise would be able to conduct a successful enterprise with financial aid only; and if not, what more he would require?¹

In August 1583, soon after the Spanish conquest of the Azores,—Guise sent an envoy to the Pope to inform him of his hopes of an “*enterprise in England and Scotland*,” if His Holiness would deign to “*provide a sum of money proportionate to the magnitude*” of the effort and “*leave the whole management*” to King Philip and to him. A copy of this was procured secretly by Mendoza, and sent to Spain. The calculation was that the English and Scotch Catholics could raise at least 20,000 Horse to join the invaders:

“3000 from the Earl of Morton, 3000 from Baron Fernihurst, 4000 from Lord Dacre, 3000 from the Earl of Northumberland, 1000 from the Earl of Cumberland, 2000 from Lord Norton [?]; and from the new Bishop of Durham.” Noblemen named also as favourable were the Earls of “Rutland, Shrewsbury, Worcester, and Arundel,” and Viscount Montague.

“*It will be necessary for the Catholic King to retain Don Bernardino de Mendoza in England until everything is ready, and a few days before carrying out of the enterprise he will return to Dunkirk,*” to join the forces of the Duke of Guise, “*which he will accompany to England. His Most Catholic Majesty will also write to the Prince of Parma telling him to give passage to the troops which will go to Dunkirk*” and elsewhere to join the Duke. “*He will also give leave to all English Catholics now with his army in Flanders and elsewhere to join the invaders.*

“*His Holiness must be begged . . . to condescend to issue a Bull declaring that the expedition is being undertaken by him . . . and give indulgences to all those who engage in so holy a work. He will also renew the bull of Pope Pius V against the Queen of England, and all those who help and support her, as well as those who in any way oppose this saintly enterprise.*

“*His Holiness will be pleased to appoint Dr. Allen to the bishopric of Durham, and either make him, or some other person with the Spanish force, his Nuncio in England to publish the aforementioned bulls . . .*²

With this is a memo of the instructions given by the Duke of Guise to Charles Paget, his secret agent in England; upon which King Philip in the margin commented, “*Things do not seem very ready yet*”; and underlined part of the peroration, in which Paget was ordered to assure the English Catholics that the one aim of the Duke of Guise would be

“*to re-establish the Catholic religion in England, and to place the Queen of Scotland peacefully on the throne of England which rightly belongs to her.*

¹ Ib: p. 477. Also a letter of Juan “Bautista” de Tassis to King Philip. Paris 24 June 1583, treats in detail the projects for invasion of England by the Duke of Guise, with the aid of Spanish, Italian and German Troops. (Cal: S.P.S. III. pp. 479-486). The Englishmen he mentions as most concerned are Dr. William Allen “who is to be Bishop of Durham,” and Father Robert Parsons. See also Ib: pp. 487-488.

² Paris Arch: K. 1562. Cal: S.P.S. III. pp. 503-6.

When this is effected, the foreigners will immediately retire from the country, and if anyone attempts to frustrate this intention *Hercules* [i. e. Guise] promises that he and his forces will join the people of the country to compel the foreigners to withdraw;" meaning by "foreigners" his Spanish allies.

King Philip underscored the words now italicised, and wrote in the margin, "Ojo!"¹

When Guise subsequently adjured him to a "prompt and favourable decision,"² he little dreamt that Philip possessed a copy of these secret instructions.

On the 26th of November, 1583, Mendoza wrote to the King reporting imprisonments of Catholics; and Tassis also deplored "the persecution of Catholics in England."

Actually the arrests were intended to prevent the success of the invasion. Tassis hoped Queen Elizabeth had not "any real suspicion" of "the plan they have in hand." "In conversation with them I have urged them to have any suspicion on her part lulled, so that she may sleep soundly." Yet the plot "being in so many hands" is dangerous to those concerned; Francis Throckmorton is arrested, and may be beheaded; and Lord Paget and Charles Arundel have taken refuge in Paris.³ Details ensue of further arrests; "a gentleman named Somerville" having said "in the presence of many others that it was necessary the Queen of England should be killed as she was the foe of the Catholic Church."⁴

Such English Catholics as were not disposed to encourage the annexation of their country by a foreign power, were disobedient to the Pope who had instructed them to abandon their allegiance to the "pretended Queen of England." If they obeyed the Pope, and allied themselves to Spain, they came under the English Statute Laws against Treason; and so either way were fated to be offenders against paramount authority.

When Pope Pius V in 1569-70 issued his Bull, he had expected a Spanish conquest of England to be simultaneous: as it might have been, but for the foresight of Cecil and the generalship of Sussex. Then again the discovery by Hawkins of the intended invasion in 1571 had impeded another Spanish plot for annexing this Kingdom by surprise. And ensuing from (but never openly admitted as related to) Captain Hawkin's discoveries, came the dismissal of Don Guerau Despes.⁵

During the years while diplomatic relations were interrupted, (1571-78) the Spanish invasion had again and again been planned and averted. In 1577 the postponement was because King Sebastian refused his assistance;⁶ and in 1579

¹ Ib: ed: note "Hercules." p. 396. ² Ib: p. 506. ³ Cal: S.P.S. III, pp. 511-12.

⁴ Ib: p. 512. He and his father-in-law Edward Arden ended tragically in consequence of this.

⁵ E.E. vol. II, pp. 113-114. ⁶ E.E. Vol. III, p. 123-124.

because King Philip was preparing for the acquirement of Portugal; and we have seen how the invasion of Ireland in 1580, in time of nominal peace, was not with intent of immediate conquest, but to keep the Queen's forces too occupied to permit of her sending aid to Dom Antonio in Portugal.¹

That the Azores in 1581, '82, and '83, had dared to defy the Spanish conquerors of Portugal was contrary to King Philip's calculations, and it is the explanation why England during those years enjoyed some respite from danger. But as soon as the Marqués de Santa Cruz had won Terceira—and the Conde de Torres Vedras, King Antonio's Governor of the Azores, had been beheaded after his defeat in the summer of 1583,—preparations could be resumed for that invasion of England which had been planned so early as 1568. These reasons for delay have been so little realised by modern English historians,—partly owing to their notion that "Don Antonio" was a mere King of Straw, and that in any case Queen Elizabeth's "claim to greatness" consisted in "fixing the attention of England upon itself"²—that our country's story "in relation to all foreign Princes" has been misunderstood.³ Wherefore it becomes necessary to devote to the triple relations of England, Spain and Portugal twice as much space as would otherwise have been requisite. More particulars will be given of the political happenings of which Drake's 1585-87 exploits were to be the consequence, than of the exploits themselves. Drake's deeds have been often and graphically described; but more as if he were an audacious adventurer who saved his country in spite of the Privy Council and its somnolence, than as if he had been counted upon by the Lord High Treasurer, the Secretary of State, and other chief Ministers, before ever the step was taken in 1583-4 of dismissing the Spanish Ambassador.

Having now seen some of Mendoza's dealings from 1580 onwards, we may wonder why he was not sooner expelled? Burghley and Walsingham waited to secure ample proofs. Then they acted suddenly. On the 10th of January 1583-4 Walsingham from London wrote to tell Sir Edward Stafford in Paris that "*The Spanish Ambassador was yesterday by her Majesty's order commanded to depart the realm within fifteen days, being charged to have had intelligence with the Queen of Scots, and sought the means to convey her away out of the realm.*" (The first charge was true; the second was what Mendoza meant to prevent.)

Mendoza also was accused of having "had divers conferences with Francis Throckmorton of the means *how to invade the realm; to have given out that the*

¹ E.E. vol. IV, pp. 50-61.

² Bishop Mandell Creighton, "*Queen Elizabeth*," 1896.

³ Though our State Papers Foreign 1583-4 (and since, in 1927, to June 1588) are calendared (some of the chief documents almost verbatim) they appear to have reached the public mind as little as those of later date which are uncalendared. In 1928 a successful man of letters—a Catholic—in all apparent good faith maintained Drake to have been a "pirate" *on the ground that England was not at war in '85-7*; and though several correspondents remonstrated, none referred him to the printed volume of State Papers Foreign, which, with the Calendar of Spanish State Papers, vol. III (1896), covering the same dates and up to 1586, would have shown him the rupture of diplomatic relations in 1583-4. To refer to "State Papers" in vague terms, but not study them, is a custom leading to innumerable errors.

King his master would bear half the charges of invasion, and that the Duke of Guise should be the leader of the enterprise."

The further accusations were,

*"To have sought to understand how the Catholics of this realm would stand affected in case any foreign Prince did invade the same; to have been acquainted with the repair hither of Charles Paget and the cause thereof: to have been a receiver of Jesuits, Seminaries and other ill-affected subjects; to have suffered her Majesty's subjects to repair to mass at his house, contrary to the privileges of an Ambassador, and such other like practises, wherein it is proven that he hath been a dealer against her Majesty and the State. . . ."*¹

Mendoza, who had previously varied between what Burghley called a "hot manner" and a pathetic air of innocence, did not take this without protest. Walsingham's note of "*The heads of the causes of the dysmyssyon of the Amb[assador] of Spayne, w[th] the answer to his objections,*" are in substance the same as reported to Stafford.² Charles Paget had been sent not only to sound the "*catholykes myndes*" in England as to the Spanish invasion, but "*also to viewe the ports and landing places.*"

Charged with conspiracy on behalf of the Queen of Scots, and with dealings with Paget and Francis Throckmorton for that purpose, Mendoza denied both transactions. He was then informed that Queen Elizabeth's Council held proofs "*by the testymonyes of sooch as were pryncypall dealers w[th] him*" (intercepted letters).

But, as Walsingham relates, instead of answering the accusations, except by general denial, he "*fell into a recapytulatyon of dyvers wronges pretended to be don unto his M[aste]r*": as for instance

That a Councillor of her Majesty had plotted to kill Don John of Austria:

That her Majesty assisted the States of the Low Countries with money upon the Marques of "Havrects sollycytyon."

That she did more than give money, having sent over "about that time" three thousand of her subjects, under English "Coronells," to aid the said States in their rebellion.

"That D. Antonio was received into this realm and received some support."

"That the K[ing's] Treasure was arrested here."

That "certain principal noblemen" had been sent over to assist at the inauguration of the Duke of Anjou as Duke of Brabant.³

¹S.P. France XI. 5; Cal: S.P. Foreign, 1583-4, p. 301. No. 365.

²Endorsed "*Heads of ye causes of ye dismission of ye Sp: Amb w[th] his answere to ye objections.*" (S.P. Spain II. 12). Mendoza's retorts are given; but, despite the above, no counter-reply to them. Walsingham's memo—after Mendoza's complaints—breaks off with the words "That her Matie being carefull (as ever, these two words struck out) to defend her honor agaynst both him and others y^t shall any waye seeke to towche the same hath founde y^t expedient y^t the matters by him objected shold be awntsworthe." But the answer is not either with this in S.P. Spain nor in S.P. Dom: The Register of the Privy Council (which should have included the answer to Mendoza) is missing for this date: (destroyed by fire, temp. James I). Though Cal: S.P. For: 1583-4, No. 394, pp. 333-4, gives Walsingham's memo almost verbatim (so far as it goes), the circumstances are seldom realised.

³"the inavgyracyon of D Daniewe D of Brabant."

That her Majesty had sent the Duke of Anjou "support of money at such time as he was [at] Cambray."

Excepting only the first, these statements were accurate.

What the Privy Council answered is missing, the Registers for that date having perished by fire; but at a later stage a "book" was compiled by Burghley, of the "unkind dealings" of the King of Spaine; demonstrating Spain to have been the first aggressor, and her Majesty to have exercised prolonged and considerable patience.¹

From London on the 26th January 1583-4, Mendoza wrote to King Philip reporting his own replies to the charges on the 18th. He admits that he was politely received by the Council; and relates his retort that he was surprised the Queen had summoned them and himself for "*so small a matter . . . what they had told me were simply dreams.*" Denying that he had been in communication with the Queen of Scotland for the purpose alleged, he declared it ridiculous that "any sane man" could suppose he would discuss important matters with one so young and inexperienced as Francis Throckmorton. When the Councillors suggested he should be thankful to Queen Elizabeth for not punishing him for his share in the conspiracy, "*I said I laughed at the idea of the Queen punishing me; and should be overjoyed to go away . . . I said that as she was a lady, there was nothing strange in her being the least thankful to those who desired to serve her as I had done, but as I had apparently failed to please her as a minister of peace, she would in future force me to try and satisfy her in war . . .*"²

(This last remark, be it remembered, came from a former officer of the Duke of Alba.)

Don Bernardino did not allow his dismissal to interfere with the supply of news from England to Spain. Before he departed he arranged for secret information to be sent from a quarter most unlikely to be suspected. His own next appointment was to Paris: unpleasantly near for Queen Elizabeth; but most suitable in the interest of Spain.

Not many weeks after the Ambassador had been expelled, there was issued at London "*A Tragical Historie of the troubles . . . of the lowe Countries . . . from the yeere 1559 unto the year 1581 . . .*"³ The translator, Thomas Stocker, dedicated it to the Earl of Leicester; and the causes enumerated why Leicester was selected as a patron for that History are a forecast of the reasons why he was

¹ In our S.P. Spain Vol. II, No. 75 is a draft in a secretarial script, revised in two different hands which appear to be Walsingham's and Burghley's. No date. Apparently 1587. The theme is "*the privite of his (King Philip's) Ministers to all practises of annoying her Majesty both in England and elsewhere*". especially the encouragement given to rebels (in 1569-71) "pretending the restoration of the Catholic faith in the realm of England, to deliver it to the Queen of Scots." (In *Cal: S.P. Foreign*, Vol. XXI. Pt. I, p. 178. this is rendered "to restore the Catholic faith and deliver it to the Queen of Scots," dropping out the words "*in the realm of England*," the handing over of which to Queen Mary is the main point of the accusation.)

² *Cal: S.P. Spanish*. Vol. III. p. 514.

³ Title, and particulars, E.E. p. III.

afterwards chosen by the Queen to command her Army sent to the Northern Netherlands. As one of the principal champions of the Established Church, his "faithe, knowledge, Zcale" and "honorable and godlic dealing," are eulogised, and he is asked to be a "sheelde" and "protector" to Stocker's labours; and, later, to expand his time and fortune on behalf of "the now miserable lowe Countries, whiche before these troubles, were taken as it were to be the Paragone or rather Yearthly Paradise of all the countries of Europe." From "the yere 1559 onwards they had been "cast into the fire" of tribulation by Spaniards and "Hispaniolised" Dutch; and chastised by Heaven through these "rodde of correction": so "the English nation" should take warning lest they incur a similar fate. They were admonished to count their blessings:

" . . . Where can wee read, either in the olde Testament" or yet in history, "that ever God dealte more bountifullly with any nation than with us, either for thynges needfull and neccarie, or delightfull and pleasaunt for this life? so that it may be verie well said of us that we enjoye a lande flowing with Milke and Honie."

For the English partisans of Spain, "delightfull and pleasant" must have appeared ironical epithets; but the chief conspirators being abroad, it was not they but their allies in England upon whom fell the fatal consequences. Mendoza's attempt to represent Francis Throckmorton as too young to be consulted in matters of warfare and the State, had been the less convincing to the Privy Council, in that they held Throckmorton's own confession, throwing the chief blame upon "the said Ambassador," and relating in detail many a secret conference with him.

When a list of promised adherents, with other particulars, was found among Throckmorton's papers, he ascribed it to his secretary;¹ and endeavoured to divert attention to such conspirators as were outside England: Thomas Morgan, Charles Paget, and Sir Francis Englefield; already publicly committed to the cause of the Queen of Scots.

An official pamphlet was issued, called "*A Discoverie of the treasons Practised and attempted against the Queenes Maiestie and the Realme by Francis Throckmorton, who for the same was arraigned and condemned in the Guyld Hall in the Citie of London the one and twentie day of May last past, 1584.*"²

Throckmorton appealed to the Queen herself, in a letter of apology for "the inconsiderate rashness of unbridled youth" which had "withdrawen me from that loiall respect which nature and dutie bound me to owe to your maiestie." His tardy protestations of penitence, and his appeal for the "gracious comiseration" of the Sovereign he had intended to dethrone, were ineffectual. He had admitted having asked Mendoza for at least fifteen thousand Spanish soldiers for the invasion, and

¹ See Cal.: S.P. Spanish (Simancas) Vol. III. pp. 510-512; also 513-514; 519.

² sm. 4to, 14 leaves. Sale Cat.: of Library of John Scott, (Sotheby) 1901, p. 139. In extenso, with comments in Holinshed's *Chronicle, Continuation*, 1586, ed: 1868, Vol. IV, pp. 536-548, including letter to the Queen (supra).

confessed that he had hoped thereby for "the liberation of the Scottish Queene, and what should thereupon have been reasonable demanded for the benefit of the catholikes here."¹

The word "reasonable" seemed to Elizabeth the more unsuitable, in that to conspire for a foreign conquest was, under the laws of every nation, high treason; penalty death.

On the 10th July, Throckmorton was taken from the Tower to Tyburn, and there hanged, drawn, and quartered; another of the long procession of Englishmen upon whom fell the bitter payment for relying upon Spain. And so, once more, what was planned for Queen Elizabeth's undoing was turned to her advantage, the tragic fate of Throckmorton giving a popular impression that nothing attempted against "Hir Majestie" could succeed.

That Elizabeth's Ministers were not mistaken in judging the danger to be genuine, appears the most clearly from King Philip himself. On the 24th June, 1583, J. B. de Tassis had written to him from Paris about the Duke of Guise and the intended "English enterprise": "The plan which Hercules had in hand, as I reported to your Majesty on the 4th of May, was an act of violence against that lady," (unnamed, but obviously Queen Elizabeth), "which someone, probably from interested motives, was to have performed." Philip underlined "act of violence," and added in the margin, "I think we understand that here. It would not have been bad if it had been done by them . . ."² And to the Count of Olivares who was representing him at the Vatican, he deplored "the danger of the negotiations being discovered, as they are passing through so many hands . . . This has always been my fear, and has led me to enjoin secrecy many times, and to urge that no show should be made until the blow can be dealt."³ He adds that he is "very sorry" for the English Catholics; but that his main anxiety is "that the principal thing may not be discovered," meaning presumably the intended assassination of Elizabeth. Mary Queen of Scots, when subsequently charged with being concerned in the invasion plot, admitted having encouraged foreign Princes to come to her aid, but firmly denied concurrence in (or knowledge of) conspiracies against the life of Elizabeth.

Throckmorton, and other English Catholics concerned, died with the composure and courage then usual to Englishmen in every walk of life; but a supposition put forward in our time that the conspiracies were mere fabrications by Lord Burghley and Sir Francis Walsingham, could never have arisen if adequate attention had been paid to the correspondence of King Philip with his own Ambassadors and officers.⁴

¹ Op. cit. p. 546.

² Cal: S.P.S. (Simancas) III. no: 345, p. 479.

³ 10 Feb: 1583-4. Ib: p. 517.

⁴ The English Cal: S.P. Spanish (Simancas) Vol. III, has been in print since 1896. For the relative values of documents published in the Calendars, see E.E. Vol. IV, pp. xi-xiii.

From Falkland Place, 19th August, 1583, the young King James VI had written in French in reply to overtures from the Duke of Guise, "I cannot express the pleasure I experienced at receiving your letter . . . The offers you make me are so agreeable that I am very happy, and desirous of accepting them . . . I esteem it the greatest treasure I have on earth to find so near a relative who is universally acknowledged to be the first Captain of our time, both for valour and prudence, ready to take my part . . ." He urged "secrecy" in the matter of "my mother's release." (Cal: S.P.S. III. pp. 502-503).

On the 19th February following (Ib: pp. 517-518) James wrote to the Duke that great as was his esteem for "your advice and counsel" his Ambassador (Lord Seton) "will also have told you of the trouble which has occurred . . . in consequence of my having, in accordance with my duty and your advice, undertaken the defence . . . of my much revered and dear mother." He refers to Queen Elizabeth as intending "the subversion of my state"; and appeals to Guise to influence on his behalf all "the Princes who are your friends, and even the Holy Father, to whom I am writing." His letter to the Pope (Ib: pp. 518-519) commends "the affection and good will" of His Holiness, and blames for all the troubles "my neighbour the Queen of England."

Having touched upon the "evil behaviour" of his subjects, as encouraged by Elizabeth, the King of Scots appealed to Pope Gregory for "aid and succour," for the "affection you bear towards our very dear mother, although I myself have hitherto deserved nothing at your hands . . . The extreme need I now am in, is such that unless I have some help from abroad, I shall find myself in danger of being forced to second the designs of my greatest enemies . . . I hope to be able to satisfy your Holiness on all other points, especially if I am aided in my great need . . .

"I pray your Holiness will please to keep very secret the communication I thus open with you, . . . as my interests would otherwise be retarded, seeing the weakness of my resources and the small means I have here at present to defend myself, if I was assailed by my rebels and the Queen of England." This was not the best way to touch the heart of the Pope; who handed this letter and Guise's over to the Count of Olivares, to be communicated to King Philip (Ib: no: 379. pp. 525-526.) "recommending this cause to you, and leaving all details to your Majesty's decision . . ." He, for his part, promises to help to the extent mentioned in the statement of 16th August last."

APPENDIX A.

SPANISH AMBASSADORS IN ENGLAND, 1558-71; and 1578-83-4.

1558-59. **Don Gomez Suarez de Figueroa, Conde de Feria**, (subsequently Duke,) who had been in England as Ambassador when Queen Mary died; and married one of that Queen's Maids of Honour, Jane, daughter of Sir William Dormer.¹

1559-63(4). **Don Alvaro de la Quadra, Bishop of Aquila**, first presented to the Queen by the Count of Feria, 24 May, 1559: having been appointed Ambassador on 8 May. Died in London, Aug: 1563.

1563(4)-68. **Don Diego Guzmán de Silva, Canon of Toledo**. His instructions from King Philip are dated 19 January 1563(4). Arrived in London 18 June. First audience of the Queen, 28 June. Applied to be recalled, 21 February, 1567(8). On 13 May, King Philip informed him that his successor had been appointed. In August he notified this to Queen Elizabeth; and took his leave, 9 September, 1568.

1568-71. **Don Guerau Despes**: Catalonian; Knight of the Order of Calatrava.²

Landed at Dover, 3 September, 1568; and was presented to the Queen, 9 September.

13 Aug: 1570. Informed by Principal Secretary Sir William Cecil that the Queen would no longer accept him as an Ambassador: despite which he remained in England.

14 Dec: 1571. Accused of plotting the invasion of this kingdom. The Queen, through her Privy Council, allowed him three days in which to quit her dominions.

Dec: 1571, March 1577(8). OVER SIX YEARS OF INTERIM WITHOUT ANY SPANISH AMBASSADOR IN ENGLAND.³

1577(8) 1583(4). **Don Bernardino de Mendoza**, (See his portrait, E.E. Vol. IV, plate 7.)

King Philip's first Instructions to him, 8 January 1577(8).

He arrived at Gravesend, 11 March. First audience of the Queen, 16 March.

19 Jan: 1583(4). Conspired the invasion of England; and on 19 January (9 Jan: O.S.) 1583(4) was commanded by the Queen, through the Privy Council, to depart within fifteen days.

30 January, his last letter from London.

Reported himself to King Philip from Paris, 7 February.

Appointed Ambassador to France: whence he worked against England almost as effectually as he had done in London.

Only during nineteen out of the forty-four years of Queen Elizabeth's reign were Ambassadors of King Philip of Spain resident at her Court.

¹ He appears to have used "Gomez" as a Christian name. In Pollini's "Istoria Ecclesiast. della Rivoluzione d'Inghilterra," Rome, 1594, p. 408, he is alluded to as "Don Gomez de Figueroa, all'ora Conte, e poco duca de Feria." And see E.E. Vol. II, p. 109.

² His name in English 16th century MS is often spelt "de Spes." But the Duke of Alba (who possesses a number of that Ambassador's holograph letters,) confirms "Despes" as the correct spelling.

³ During this period Queen Elizabeth occasionally sent envoys to Spain on special missions.

Drake's first independent expedition was undertaken in 1572, after Don Guerau Despes was expelled. In the same year as Drake's enterprise, the Queen's troops were fighting against Spanish forces in the Low Countries. Nevertheless in 1573 we saw the Duke of Alba, King Philip's Governor General of the Netherlands, writing to Queen Elizabeth in courtly terms. (E.E. vol. II, pp. 197-199.)

When Drake set out on his circumnavigation voyage in 1577, there was still not any Spanish Ambassador in London.

Drake came home in 1580 to find that Don Bernardino de Mendoza, had been at the Court as Ambassador since 1578; but Don Bernardino's presence in England had not prevented Spaniards and Italians from invading Ireland in 1580. (E.E., Vol. IV, pp. 63-64.) As we have seen, (Vol. IV, pp. 49-59), King Philip's plan was to detain the Queen's fleets and armies in home waters, while the Duke of Alba by land and the Marquis of Santa Cruz by sea, completely conquered Portugal on his behalf.

After Queen Elizabeth's dismissal of Mendoza, early in 1583-4, there was not any Spanish Ambassador received in England until James the First came to the throne.

Forgetfulness of these facts has given rise to modern English apologies for Drake's exploits in 1585, '86 and '87, as "piratical." Actually he was the Queen's "*Admiral on the Seas*" while the Earl of Leicester was her Lieutenant General ashore.

In the present work, the dealings of the diplomats and the exploits of the men of action are treated in conjunction: many misapprehensions have arisen from failure to co-ordinate matters of warfare and the State, especially from the mistaken notion of the late Sir Julian Corbett, ("Drake and the Tudor Navy," 1898,) that Sir William Cecil, Lord Burghley, lacked appreciation of the seamen in general and of Drake in particular; and that Burghley saw no danger from Spain. We shall know far otherwise, when we become intimately acquainted with the struggle between King Philip II and Lord Burghley, during a period of forty years, till the death of both in 1598.¹

¹ Though the correspondence of King Philip and his Ambassadors is quoted in E.E. from the English Calendars of Spanish State Papers at Simancas, students in Spain will prefer to consult Vols. 87, 89, 90, 91, 92 of *Documentos inéditos*. For brief headings of the subjects of the letters see "*Catálogo de la colección de documentos inéditos para la Historia de España*," by Julián Paz, Vol. II, Madrid, 1931, pages as undernoted:

Documentos inéditos,

Vol. 87. Letters to and from the Conde de Feria (subsequently Duke) Paz, pp. 278-289.
 " 87. Letters to and from D. Alvaro de la Quadra, Bishop of Aquila, pp. 289-307.
 " 89 & 90. Letters to and from D. Diego Guzmán de Silva, pp. 309-349.
 " 90. Letters to and from D. Guerau Despes, pp. 350-388.
 " 91. Correspondence during the interval when there was no Ambassador, 1572-77, but when Antonio de Guaras sent information from London, pp. 388-399. (This includes the missions of Henry Cobham and Sir John Smith to Spain).
 " 91 and 92. Correspondence to and from D. Bernardino de Mendoza, pp. 401-460.

SIR WILLIAM CECIL, 1st LORD BURGHLEY, K.G., P.C.

*Now first published from the original in possession of The Marquess of Salisbury,
K.G., P.C.*

At Hatfield House. (No. 42 of the 1891 Catalogue).

Panel: 30 x 25½ inches.

Undated; but painted subsequent to Lord Burghley's election to the Order of the Garter, 23 April, 1572 (E.E. Vol. II, pp. 151-166.) He carries his white staff as Lord High Treasurer of England, the duties of which office he began in September, 1572.

His beard and moustache are brown. The eyes are grey. A brown glove is in his left hand; and a black (onyx?) ring on the little finger of his right hand.

Notice the Cecil arms, with Burghley's motto, *Cor unum via una*, used afterwards by the Earls and Marquesses of Exeter, descendants of Burghley's eldest son, Sir Thomas Cecil.



COR Vnde Vnde



APPENDIX B.

Lord Burghley's Unpublished "Memorall" of necessary measures

"FOR YE STRENGTH OF THE REALME . . . FOR MARTIAL DEFENCE
AGAINST EITHER REBELLION OR INVASION."

February 1583-4. *From the original in his own hand: S.P. Dom. Eliz: CLXVIII. 3¹
and fair copy, Ib: No. 4²*

The dismissal by Queen Elizabeth of the Spanish Ambassador Don Bernardino de Mendoza might have provoked an immediate declaration of war from King Philip; so it was urgent to continue strengthening England's defences. As Drake's biographer in 1898 dismissed the Lord Treasurer's plan with the one word "faulty",³ and gave readers no opportunity of judging it for themselves, the publication of Burghley's MS. is now desirable.

The original spelling is preserved; so for the general reader the summary (pp. 187-188) will be easier to grasp.

A MEMORALL OF DIUERS THINGES NECESSERIE TO BE THOWGHT OF AND TO BE
PUT IN XECUCION FOR THIS SOMMAR FOR YE STRENGTH OF THE REALME
TO SERUE FOR MARTIALL DEFENCE AGAINST EITHER REBELLION OR INVASION.

Com^{re}s for Musters.—The Musters being once made spetiallie in the Maritime Counties, theare would be a perfect knowledge had from the Cuntries not onelie by ye Commissioners lettres, but by sum persons of trust, Creditt and knowledge to be sent from hir Majestie to see the said forces in ye seuerall partes of the Shires, and to see the Capteines and all officers of what Condicion theare of, and in what state and Condicion the forces are of, and what is to be supplied.

One sufficient gentleman well chosen with the enterteinement of xs a daie for his Journie, and xiiij*siiijd* whilst he is in ye Countie, would doe more good being sent from hir Majestie, than ye worke of all the Commissioners for doble the time.

The Counties would be Considered, and so the Nombres & Charges of ye persons might be esteemed.

ij persons would serve Cornewaile and Devonshire.

ij would serve Dorsett and Somersett.

ij would serue hampshire and wiltshire, and ye Isle of wight.

ij would serve, Sussex and kent.

ij for Essex and Suffolk.

Thes x are to have vi^l per diem, which in xl daies is but, CC^{li}, or vj*l*xiijs*iiijd*. per diem, which is for 1 daies CClxvj*l*xiijs*4d*. Euerie of thes Commissioners maie vewe ye strength of all thes Cuntries fowre times over in one moneth, after they shall be in ye Cuntrie.

The Commissioners being hereof warned might appoint in everie weeke, as Tuesdaies,

¹ 6 pp. Docketed by Burghley, "Memoriall 1584 of sundery thynges to be executed in this realme to *wtstand* perillls."

² Docketed by Ld. B. "Memorial Feb. 1583."

³ "Drake and the Tudor Navy," Vol. II., p. 8.

Thorsedaisies, and Saturdaies or anie other three daies in the weeke, a spetiall Muster owt of the whole Numbers, so as in the space of the xijij daies the whole nombre being deuided into six partes as euerie of the three daies the vj part might be mustered, and in the second weeke vpon euerie the said three daies thei might be trained.

As for example if theare be in one Countie ijij^M [3000] to be mustered the first weeke by M a daie, thei maie be mustered all in one weeke, and theire defawltes scen, and ordred to bee amended within seaven daies after, and so the seaventh daie after in the next weeke to be newlie mustered, and than to bee trained, and so the next weeke on the seaventh daie to be againe trained, and the fourth weeke vewed againe that all thinges might be made parfект, and so the Commissary might cum owt of the Cuntrie at the end of the moneth.

And thus deviding the time it weare easie to the Cuntrie and yet euerie soldier shall be seen fower sondrie times before thes Commissaries.

Wheare the nombres are fewar the muster maie be sooner done and so the Commissare for that Contreie may ende his worke in three weeke, and maie com to the next Shire being the greater, and helpe the greater Cuntrie three sondrie daies in the last weeke. As for example the Commissare for Cornewale maie helpe Devonshire, and dorsett Somersett, and Wiltshire, Hampshire.

Thus much to vnderstand the strength of ye Cuntries and to helpe to traine them, and beside the mustring and traininge of them, the Commissaries maie see the places on the Sea Cost wheareto the forces shall cum, and to *cause neare the landing places sum Sconces, and Trenches to be made to cover the Harquebuziers to empeache landing*

The Commissaries maie also see ye Beacons, and howe the Capteines with theire forces shall ordelie by the lightes thereof knowe wheather to marche.

An Army by Sea.—The Quenes Navie would also be putt in readines, and the great Shippes of the Realme would be also staied from theire viodages, to ioine with his Majesties Navie.

An the whole Navie would be deuided into three Companies whereof the one would lie abowt the Isles of Silly.

The second about the Isle of wight, The third naere Harwich, or in the downes.

It is to be supposed that the Aduersaries force must cum from by west, and if anie of the same will attempt Milford, the force at Sillie shall followe him, and vpon knowledge had by land from Cornewale, so maie that of the Isle of wight resort thither. And if force shall be readie on the land in wales, the Aduersarie will not hastie land, knowing what forces are in his taile, the Englishe Navie shall alwaies have the English portes for theare succor to avoide danger, which the Aduersarie shall not have.

If the Aduersarie will cum eastward that of Silley is to followe, and that of the Isle of wight also, and if the Aduersarie will quietlie procead, all the three Cunpanies shall fall into one Consort abowt the downes. And if the Aduersarie will onelie attempt to land in Flanders or Zeland if the Prince of Orange shall make anie resistance to meeete with them by Sea, the Aduersarie will be in dowbt or danger, that the Englishe Navie will take advantage in theire tailes.

The Charges of this Navie which would conteine the strength of xij^M men in paic for iij monethes, and in the first that shall be at Silley, would be vj^M men, and in that at Portesmowthe would be ijij^M and in the downes the ij^M the Charge whereof will not be above xi^M. And after that the Spanishe Navie shall be cum from the west, and have passed the cost of England, which will be done in lesse then ij monethes the charge of the subiecties levied westward, maie be diminished, and so that Charge be lesse.

Theare maie be manie deuises to lessen the Sea Charges for the Shippes that shall goe owt of the east to Silley maie goe but halfe manned, and take in theire men and victuell amongst the Costes of devonshire & Cornwale.

And the Subiectes shippes that shall cum from the Northe maie be manned and victualed in essex, Thams, and kent so as of the space of iij monethes theare will not be above one half Charge for xx daies of the first moneth.

If anie attempt shall be ment to passe towrdes Scotland the seeing of a Navie readie abowt Harwich, and the downes will be a stae therof, for one wind shall serve to pursue that shall leade them thither.

Ye Third thinge is for Cumfort of ye people of ye Sea Cost, that all the Fortes be supplied

with Municion and the places repaired, whearein if the Charges sett downe be to large, theare maie be a reasonable diminucion, with a newe Consultacion.

The fourth neadefull is to hauve the ditches of Portesmouth scoured, and the forces that are to resort to that towne, and the Isle of Wight, would be weckelie mustered by small nombres, and the leaders knownen to theire Cumpanies.

A fift is also expedient to haue a Parlement abowt Aprill for manie Consideracions.

A sixe to have regard to Sheffield.

PARTICULAR THINGES.

To have the Quenes Navie better garded, and to direct that some of the principall officers, should by tornie be alawies theare.

That the men appointed to resort to the defence of the Shippes weare mustered, and the Capteines and leaders knownen, *that both the one and the others maie be alawies in readiness.*

That the Gally Elionor be armed and lie in the mowthe of Medway water, and the one half of the Mariners to be of Forsaries, of persons thought meete to be spared from hanging, and whose frendes will yeld them sustenance for xij monethes, and so vsing themselves well to have theire pardon, and to be yerelie supplied with the like nombre.¹

A devise to serue for ij or iij Gallies, and a iust punishment for small offence, withoutt losse of lief for small Crimes.

The ij passages into Shepey would be garded this Sommer time.

Generallie *if the Quenes Navie be stronge vpon the Sea* neither Portesmowth, Shepeie, nor Harwich haue neade of strength, otherwise surelie this ij places will be in danger.²

¹ Petty theft and other minor offences were punishable by hanging. That these "gaol birds" in time of national crisis were given a chance of doing good service in a guardship, under discipline, was a better use to which to put them than hanging, in the days of small population and heavy odds. In the Royal Navy they were kept in order; but in 1581-2, Captain Robert Hitchcock (in "A Politique Platt" &c.), had protested against drafting "Beggars and Vacabounds" into merchant vessels: as 12 of them were enough to "carrie the shippes awaie and become Pirates." Hitchcock little dreamt that Englishmen would in after-ages apply that epithet to the Queen's own mariners.

² Endorsed in Burghley's hand: "Memorial 3. febr. 1583." (83-4).



Woodcut illustrating the wine trade between Bordeaux and England: lent by Messrs. Maggs Bros., from a publication listed by Collier among "The Rarest Books in the English Language," vol. I, p. 374, viz: "A Politique Platt for the honour of the Prince, the greate profite of the publique state, relief of the poore, preservation of the riche, reformation of Roges and Idle personnes, and the wealthe of Thousandes that knows not how to live. Written for an New yeres gift to Englande, and the inhabitantes thereof: by Robert Hitchcock late of Caverfield in the Countie of Buckingham, Gentleman. Imprinted at London by Ihon Kyngston, 1 Januarie, 1580."

(Small 4to. Title within woodcut border; Hitchcock Arms on the reverse. Dedication "To Englande," followed by a page of verses, "Fraunces Hitchcocke, to the Reader of this his brother's booke;" and a further appeal to the "frendly Reader.") Illustrated with a table and map, emphasising the vital importance of the fisheries, which were then the recognised nurseries for the Royal and Merchant Navies.

In the above woodcut, notice English gold ("Goulde") being carried ashore in bags; and see vessels freighted with "The vintage for Hull and Newcastle," "The vintage for London," "The vintage for Bristol" (then one of our chief ports). The ships are all armed with cannon. Ordnance was licensed according to the tonnage, number of crew, &c.; and each vessel had to satisfy the Port officials before sailing on "lawful occasions." (A present popular habit of confusing respectable Elizabethan mariners with "pirates," could be overcome by publishing the Admiralty Court MSS. as to numerous actual pirates; whose goods were confiscated, and who were hanged. It was one of the duties of the Lord High Admiral to clear the Narrow Seas of pirates, against whom the licensed merchant seamen were frequently obliged to fight. On this theme, there will be more said later. Also the labours of the author of the above treatise will be considered again. He helped in the writing of one of the most popular military books of his time, dedicated to the Earl of Essex. E.E. Vol. VIII.)

NOTE: "SKILFUL AND EXQUISITE ACTORS":

*The Queen's own Company of Players, 1583.*¹

When in the spring of 1583 the Master of the Revels, Edmund Tilney, was called to the Court by Sir Francis Walsingham, to "choose out a company of players for her Majesty," this was a more important step than perhaps even Tilney realised.²

The crudeness and grossness of plays presented in the London theatres had been theme for heated protest from a scholar now regarded as a fanatic. But let us consider the circumstances dispassionately.

Stephen Gosson in 1579 had dedicated "To the right noble Gentleman, Master Philip Sidney Esquire," a vehement attack upon "Poets, Pipers, Players."³ While approving of Homer and of all such poetry as embodied "notable exploytes of worthy Captaines," Gosson gibbeted such "amorous Poets" as passed "from piping to playing, and from play to pleasure, from pleasure to sloth, from sloth to sleepe, from sleepe to sinne, from sinne to death, from death to the devil."⁴

Dancing also he castigated,—"Dumpes, Pavins, Galiardes" etcetera. And actors he held to be "the worst and the dangerousest people in the world."

Gosson's outbursts are nowadays usually dismissed as "Puritan" bearishness. He was not a Puritan, but a member of the Church of England: in which capacity we will meet him later, preaching against hollow peace with Spain.⁵ (To use the term "Puritan" as a synonym for "decorous" is misleading. Puritanism was less a code of morality than a series of protests against existing institutions and dignities: and especially Saints' days, surplices, the ring in marriage, "singing boys" and organs in the Churches).

On reading carefully "*The School of Abuse*" we see that what Gosson attacked was not so much drama in general as the degeneracy of English actors in particular: "teachers of wantonnesse."

¹ Several readers of "*Elizabethan England*" have asked "Why in Vols. I—IV is there so little relatively about the Stage?" To which the answer is that Book I, Vol. IV, ended in 1583, and it was only from 1583 onwards that the drama rose to greatness. The publication in 1923 of (Sir) E. K. Chambers' monumental work on "*The Elizabethan Stage*," 4 vols. (B.M. 2039.b.) has caused the present writer to reduce the theatrical detail in "*Elizabethan England*"; but as no general History of the era would be adequate without the reminder of the rise and development of the theatre, the above notes will not be amiss.

² He had been appointed Master of the Revels four years earlier (1579) and held that post till Queen Elizabeth's death and for many years after. He was a near relation of the Earl of Oxford and of the late Duke of Norfolk, both patrons of literature and the arts. In this connection see "*The Seventeenth Earl of Oxford, 1550-1604. By B. M. Ward.*" London, 1928, p. 270.

³ "*The Schoole of Abuse, Containing a pleasant invective against Poets, Pipers, Plaiers, Jesters & suchlike Catterpillers of a Commonwealth; Setting up the Flage of Defiance to their mischievous exercises, and overthrowing their Bulwarks . . . A discourse as pleasant for gentlemen that favour learning, as profitable for all that wyl follow vertue. By Stephen Gosson. Stud. Oxon . . . Printed at London, for Thomas Woodcocke, 1579.*" (Arber's English Reprints, 1868.)

⁴ But he occasionally deviated into rhyme himself. See "*Speculum humanum made by Stephen Gosson,*" at the end of "*The Mirour of Mans Lyfe,*" 1576. Arber's Gosson, p. 76.

⁵ "*The Trumpet of Warre. A Sermon preached at Paules Crosse*" etc. 1598. (quoted under date).

And his fulmination against players was only "so long as they live in this order."¹ He especially protested against "*The Three Lords of London*," "*London against the Three Ladies*," "*Cupid and Psyche played at Paedes*,"—plays not now known to exist. Dedicating his book "To the right worshipfull Gentlemen and Studentes of both Universities and the Innes of Court," he added an address to "Sir Francis Walsingham, Knight, one of the Principal Secretaries to her excellent Maiestie, of her highnesse most honourable Privy Counsell and Chancellor of the Order." This and the book are not dated; but as Walsingham was installed Chancellor of the Order of the Garter on St. George's Eve, 1578,² it must have been subsequent to that date.

Gosson did not wish to abolish the theatre but to reform it: a task he lacked the power to accomplish.³ "*If ever so notable a thing is to be brought to pass, it must bee done by some Hercules in the Court whom the roare of the enemy can never daunt.*" Wherefore he asks Walsingham to give "countenance to my study," and be "a buckler unto my life"⁴

That Walsingham subsequently responded to the appeal is manifest; for it was by his arrangement that twelve "best chosen" players were "sworne the Queenes servants," and "allowed Wages, and Liveries, as Groomes of the Chamber." Stow, recording this great advance in the status of actors, adds that until then "the Queene had no Players." There had been masques and revels at the Court; but in general the "Comedians and Stage-players of former time were very poore and ignorant; but some being now growne very skilful and exquisite," were worthy to be approved by "divers great Lords" from whose Companies were selected the privileged twelve to wear Her Majesty's livery. Of these the most noted were "Thomas Wilton for quicke delicate refined extemporal wit, and and Richard Tarleton for a wondrous plentifull pleasant extemporal wit"⁴

The promotion of the players was in "Anno 25 Elizabeth, 1583," the year of Sir Philip Sidney's betrothal and marriage to Walsingham's daughter.

When the drama was thus taken into added favour of "the most renowned Virgin Queen," its "cleansing" naturally ensued.

Against Gosson's book, the players, exasperated, had retorted that as he himself had been a playwright it was the more incongruous for him to break forth against the Stage. So in his epistle "To the Right Worshipful Gentlemen and students of both Universities and the Innes of Court," he says ruefully:

"I was informed by some of you that since my publishing the Schole of Abuse, two Playes of my making were brought to the Stage: the one was a cast of Italian deviscs, called *The Comedie of Captaine Mario*: the other a Moral, *Praise at parting*. These they very impudently affirme to be written by me since I had let out my invective against them."

He "cannot denie that they were both mine," but he protests that they had been "both penned two yeres at the least" before he conceived a disgust against the stage. "*As soon as I had invicthed against Playes, I withdrew my selfe from them to better studies.*" Having "departed from the City

¹ "Plays confuted in five actions, proving that they are not to be suffered in a Christian common weale . . . By Steph. Gosson, Stud. Oxon. St. Cyprian. Non diseta set fortra. London. Imprinted for Thomas Gosson, dwelling in Pater noster row at the signe of the Sunne." 8vo. n.d. 56 leaves. (B.M. C.39. a.33.)

² Unpublished S.P. Dom. Eliz: CXXIII, No. 31, fixes the date (as to which Dr. Conyers Read in his "*Mr. Secretary Walsingham*," (1925) was uncertain).

³ Finding Playes of themselves as filthy as the stables of Augean," he classes the cleansing of them with the labours of Hercules, and with "the conquering of that monstrous wild Bore of Erymanthus . . ." (Have we here the forerunner of Spenser's "Blatant Beaste"?)

⁴ Stow's "*Annales of England*." Ed. 1631. p. 698.

of London," he had "bestowed my time in teaching yong Gentlemen in the Countrie, where I continue with a verie worshipfull Gentleman, and read to his sonnes in his owne house."¹

That Sir Francis Walsingham was a patron of Gosson may have been one reason why Philip Sidney not-only did not make any public retort to "*The School of Abuse*," dedicated to himself in 1579, but even protected the writer.

Nothing would have been easier than for the nephew of the Chancellor of Oxford to have crushed from the height of his great prestige the obscure Oxonian. But Sidney's "*Defense of Poesie*," though most likely provoked by Gosson's sweeping denunciations, was circulated in MS. among personal friends. It did not become known to the outer world until nine years after Sidney's death.² But that Walsingham, Sidney, and the Earl of Oxford were largely responsible for the great improvement in the status of the drama appears more than likely. Gosson's censures were upon the sort of plays produced at Blackfriars and other public theatres. His conviction that the *low types of players would oppose all attempts to elevate their art and morals, and that only persons independent of and far above them could achieve the necessary "cleansing,"* shows his robust common-sense. His protest bore fruit even beyond his best hopes.³

¹ "Playes Confuted." Sig: A.4. (B.M. No. C.39. a. 33.)

² "An Apologie for Poesie. Written by the right noble, vertuous, and learned Sir Philip Sidney, Knight. Odi profanum vulgus, et arco. At London. Printed for Henry Olney, and are to be sold at his shop in Paules Church-yard, at the signe of the George, neare to Cheap-gate. Anno, 1595." (Piratically published).

³ In the General Introduction to the Mermaid Series of English Dramatists, pp. ix-x, the editor makes the following statements:

"Essayists like Sir Philip Sidney . . . tried by their precepts and practise to introduce the classical style of dramatic composition into England. They severely criticised the rhymed plays in which the populace delighted. It seemed for a time as though these 'courtly makers' might divert the English Drama from its spontaneously chosen path into the precise and formal channels of pedantic imitation." But "neither the nobility nor the universities were destined to control the theatre of England. That had already become the possession of the people."

It would be difficult to compress more misunderstanding into a single paragraph. As Sidney himself confessed his "barbarousness" in delighting in the popular ballad of Douglas and Percy, and as he was gently sarcastic about pedants, to represent him as a pedantic kill-joy is most astonishing. What the public theatre was like when it was left to actors who only strove to please the grossest minds, Gosson has indicated; and that the evolution of the drama to a sublime art was due to the influence and protection of the aristocracy is so undeniable that the opposite statement is fantastic. On the position of actors under Elizabethan legislation, see Sir E. K. Chambers, "*The Elizabethan Stage*," 1923, Vol. I. ch. IX, pp. 269, 271, 279-280. (For an earlier episode, in Queen Mary's day, see E.E. Vol. I. p. 81, letter of the Privy Council, 30 April, 1556.)

Stow's statement that the Queen had not her own players till 1583, must not be taken to mean that she had no plays. The author of the 3 volume "*History of Hampton Court Palace*," Mr. Ernest Law, C.B., found many details as to "masques and plays at Hampton Court during the Christmastides of 1572, 1575, and 1576." In his "*Short History of Hampton Court*" (1929) pp. 187-188, he again refers to the entries in the account books as conclusively proving—contrary to the now "prevalent notion,—that the scenic effects in the Elizabethan drama were of the most elaborate, realistic and gorgeous kind": which he describes; quoting also various instructions as to the "airing, repairing, amending, brushing, spunging, rubbing, wiping, sweeping, cleaning, putting in order, folding, laying up, and safe bestowing of the garments, vestures, apparel, disguisings, properties and furniture, . . . which else would be mouldy, musty, moth-eaten and rotten."

"A MANIFEST PLEDGE OF MY THANKFULL HEART":

Stephen Gosson's gratitude to Philip Sidney, 1579.

All who, "professing learning, inveigh against Poetry," go "very near to ungratefulness" by seeking to deface that art which "in the noblest nations and languages" was "the first light given to Ignorance." Even the ancient philosophers, wrote Philip Sidney, "durst not" at the start appear except "under the mask of Poetry." And "Alexander left his living schoolmaster Aristotle behind him, but took dead Homer with him" on his campaigns.

Few careful readers of Gosson's outbreak against "Poets, Pipers, Players," and of Sidney's "*Defence of Poesie*," can doubt that the latter was provoked by the former. But what is seldom realised is that Sidney forgave Gosson his vehemence for the sake of his good intentions. This appears from the dedicatory epistle of Gosson's next book: "To the right noble Gentleman, Master Philip Sidney Esquier": relating how since "first publishing the *School of Abuse*" he had been tossed in a "storme," and would have fared ill without Sidney's protection: "I cannot but acknowledge my safetie to your Worship's patronage, and offer you Phialo my chiefest Iuel, as a manifest pledge of my thankfull heart."

The booklet thus presented, the "*Ephemerides of Phialo*" embodies the dreariest sort of scholasticism.¹ But Gosson was sufficiently proud of it to offer it also to his former University,² and to add a third epistle, "To the Reader, Gentlemen and others"; also at the end, an address to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London; with a fifth epistle, "To the Gentlewomen Citizens of London" (repeating his former admonitions).

Sidney's poetic prose, individual and vivid, and Gosson's crude and clumsy methods, were as unlike as any two contemporaries could be, both educated in the same academic conventions. But possibly it was Gosson's *Phialo* which a Jacobean bookseller had in mind in repeating a rumour that "the Renowned Sidney" had accepted graciously "unfiled" literary productions, if merit in the worker atoned for defects in the work.³

Gosson's *Phialo* only survives now among bibliographical rarities. But Sidney's Defence of the vocation of poets still attracts many, even including some who give the cold shoulder to Poetry herself.

That despite Gosson's awkward and unconciliatory manner, his appeal to a "Hercules" at the Court to redeem the stage met with response in 1583 from Sidney's father-in-law, may well be emphasised: for thus was the way prepared for the rise of Shakespearian drama.

¹ "The *Ephemerides of Phialo*, deuided into three Bookes. The first, *A method which he ought to follow that desireth to rebuke his freend, when he seeth him swarve: without kindling his choler, or hurting himselfe*. The second, *A Canuazado to Courtiers in foure pointes*. The third, *The defencē of a Curtezan ouer-thrownen, And a short Apologie of the Schoole of Abuse, against Poets, Pipers, Players, and their Excusers*. By Steph. Gosson, Stud. Oxon. Imprinted at London by Thomas Dawson. Anno. 1579." (5½ x 3½ inches). Title in woodcut border. Sidney dedic: pp. 3-6; 2nd dedic: pp. 7-10; and 3rd, pp. 11-13; 14 blank; text 80 leaves numbered only on one side; p. 81 blank; 7 pp. Epistle to Sir R. Pipe; and 5 to Gentlewomen; woodcut device, with motto "Cantabo Iehovae qvia benefecii mihi." (Phialo's dialogues are imaginary.)

² "Literarum Studiosis in Oxoniensi Academia Steph. Gosson Sal." Dated "Londini 5. Kalend. Novemb. 1579."

³ *Epigrams*, Harington, 1615. See E.E., Vol. VI, iv. 2. 1.



W

Ere I a king ij. I might I might
commad content, were I obscure, ij.
unknow should be my cares, and were I dead, ij. no
thoughts no thoughts should me torment, nor words, nor words, nor
wrongs, nor wrongs, nor loves, nor loves, nor hopes, nor fears, a
doubfull choise of three things one to crave, a kingdome, or a cottage,
or a grāve. a cottage, or a grāve a kingdome, or a cottage, or a grāve.

From John Mundy's *"Tenor: Songs and Psalms,"* 1594.

The verses are by Edward de Vere, 17th Earl of Oxford: B.M. Add: M.S. 22583.

"Were I a King, I might command content,
Were I obscure, unknown should be my cares,
And were I dead, no thoughts should me torment,
Nor words, nor wrongs, nor love, nor hate, nor fears,
A doubtful choice of these three which to crave,
A kingdom, or a cottage, or a grave."

To which Sir Philip Sidney is alleged to have replied, with some asperity,

"Wert thou a King, yet not command content,
Sith empire none thy mind could yet suffice.
Wert thou obscure, still cares would thee torment;
But wert thou dead, all care and sorrow dies.
An easy choice of these three which to crave:
No kingdom, nor a cottage, but a grave."

NOTE.

Harleian MS. 6910, f.140. verso, gives a milder "Responsio" from Sidney than the one quoted overleaf, and ends "Content liues not in cottage, crowne, nor grave."

For the clash between Lord Oxford and Philip Sidney, see "*Elizabethan England*," Vol. III, pp. 181-183. And for all material that as yet has been found in connection with him, see "*The Seventeenth Earl of Oxford, 1550-1604. From Contemporary Documents*. By B. M. Ward. London, John Murray, Albemarle Street, W." 1928. With Sketch Maps, Genealogical Tables, Interludes, and Appendices. Especially useful are App: F, "*An Elizabethan Court Circular: The Royal Household. The Queen's Ministers. Naval and Military Commanders. Resident Ambassadors*"; and App: 9, "*A London and Westminster Directory*."

Lord Oxford, who has been the theme of an argument that he is "*Shakespeare Identified*," is not treated by Captain Ward in relation to any such hypothesis, but only as to the ascertainable facts. "The following chapters," he says (p. ix) "are the result of nearly five years search among unpublished manuscripts of the time, every known source of information [about Oxford] having been thoroughly examined" Captain Ward, in 1923-26 generously lent his collection of transcripts to the writer of "*Elizabethan England*." But as Oxford was not (until James I's reign) a Privy Councillor, nor ever commanded in any of the wars by sea or land, nor, although he was Burghley's son-in-law, played any ostensible part in politics (except that he was summoned to three State trials,) his career is more suited to biographical treatment than to the present History.

For his boyhood and marriage, and his preface to Castiglione's *Courtier*, 1571-2, see E.E. ante, Vol. II, pp. 169-178.

Even after Captain Ward's careful and patient scrutiny, Edward 17th Earl of Oxford remains something of an enigma. But men of letters who enjoyed his patronage found in him "haughty courage joined with great skill, such sufficiency in learning, so good nature and common sense," that he seemed to them "the right pattern of a noble gentleman."¹

¹ Thomas Underdowne, dedicating to him "*An Aethiopian History*," circa 1559. Apparently unnoticed by the late Sir Sidney Lee, who in 1898 in the D.N.B., called Oxford "wayward, violent, extravagant, and boorish"; and stated that he "is said" to have planned the murder of Sir Philip Sidney.¹

See E.E. Vol. VI, for Note on the annuity Oxford received from the Crown, 1586-1604; and for other dedications to him.

PART III.

“*Ambitious, Politic, and Valiant.*”

CHAPTER I.

“IF YOUR MAJESTY HAD ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND.”

SECTION 3.

“*A sweet attractive kind of grace.*”

(*Sir Philip Sidney and his Marriage, 21st September, 1583.*).

“I knew, Sir, that it is [for] the virtue which is, or which you suppose is in my son, that you made choice of him for your daughter, refusing haply far greater and far richer marriages than he . . .”

Sir Henry Sidney to Sir Francis Walsingham. 1st March, 1582-3. (S.P. Dom: Eliz: CLIX. 1).

“Sir Francis Walsingham, his Father-in-law, that wise and astute Secretarie . . . had influence in all countries and a hand upon all affairs. . . .”

Fulke Greville, Lord Brook, “Life of the Renowned Sir Philip Sidney.” Chapter ii.

“Of him it may be said . . . though poor yet making many rich; having but one daughter whose extraordinary handsomeness, with a moderate portion, would considerably prefer her in marriage, he neglected wealth in himself, though I may say he enriched many, not only of his dependents, but even the English nation by his prudent steering of affairs.”

Thomas Fuller: “*The Church History of Britaine from the Birth of Jesus Christ until the year 1648.*” Book ix.

“*A sweet attractive kinde of grace,
A full assurance given by lookes,
Continually comfort in a face. . . .*”

Matthew Royden: “*An elegie or Friend's passion for his Astrophill*” (Sir Philip Sidney). Published 1595.

NOTE: SIDNEY MSS.

The Sidney MSS were first examined by Arthur Collins, who discovered that this collection contained materials of great importance, especially for study of the Elizabethan era. But despite the esteem in which Sir Philip Sidney's memory was held, and notwithstanding Collins's own reputation as an antiquarian, his vast labour of reading and transcribing these MSS. did not receive academic aid or encouragement. So he appealed to private subscribers, and by their means was enabled to issue, in 1746, two large folio volumes (with list of subscribers). From these "*Letters and Memorials of State*" the present writer worked; until in 1925 the Historical MSS. Com: brought out, under the editorship of Mr. C. L. Kingsford, Vol. I of a "*Report on the Manuscripts of Lord De L'Isle and Dudley preserved at Penshurst Place*"; followed by Vol. II (1934). Some items overlooked by Collins were found by Mr. Kingsford: for example the Sidney-Walsingham marriage agreement Vol. I, pp. 272-273. (E.E. p. 73); but not any new letters of Philip Sidney. Mr. Kingsford died before Vol. II was issued. The preface is by William A. Shaw, D.Litt, who admits that "Collins left comparatively little for later researchers to glean after him." See pp. xv-xxxii, a useful list of cross references to Collins's work. To Collins must for ever remain the honours due to a pioneer; the Hist: MSS. Com: Reports, though of great interest and value, supplement rather than supersede Collins's achievements. (See also E.E. vol. V, plate 13, for a MS independently discovered in 1926).

MONOGRAPHS.

The "*Life of the Renowned Sir Philip Sidney*" by his friend Fulke Greville is less a biography than a character sketch in relation to the Policy of England "in relation to all Forraim Princcs." Extensively quoted in the present work, it speaks for itself.

Of modern monographs, that of Zouch, 1808, was the first. Those in the "*English Men of Letters*" and "*Heroes of the Nations*" Series have been more popular. The latest and most carefully compiled "*Life of Sir Philip Sidney*" is by "Malcolm William Wallace Associate Professor of English Literature, University College, Toronto"; Cambridge University Press, 1915. It contains in extenso a MS discovered by Professor Wallace among Lord de L'Isle and Dudley's papers at Penshurst Place, "*The Accompte of Mr. Philippi Sidneys expenses since the iiith of Decembre, 1565 untill the Feast of St. Michael the Archangel 1566*"; pp. 495-423; and the Professor gives tabular "*Notes on Extant Portraits of Sir Philip Sidney*," pp. 424-425. Concerning various matters now first analysed, suggestions are made in "*Elizabethan England*," Vol. V, pp. 69, note 2; 75; 83-89; and Vol. VI, pp. 67-71, for several alterations which Professor Wallace may like to incorporate in his later editions. It is to be hoped he will reconsider also a discouraging statement in his "Postscript" (p. 400) that "The dead past buries its dead so effectively that it is impossible that we of to-day should come into really living touch with him who died 300 years ago." The Elizabethans would admit no time limit to sympathetic interest; and found no difficulty in drawing a moral from the careers of Alexander or Caesar. To understand "the divinest spirits of all ages" was then expected of every alert intellect. The great dead were called "the ever living"; and the living wished to be remembered in "long hereafter ages." To live only in the present was to be a "mercenary hired by the day." See E.E. Vol. I, Introduction, p. vii.

I saw and liked, I liked but loved not
I loved but straight did not what love decreed
at length to love's decrees, I first agreed
yet with rising at so partial lot.

Now even that foolishe of last libertie
is gone, and now like lamebaine mussourie
I call it praise to suffer Tyrany.

And now employ the remnant of my wit
To make mee self beleene that all is well
while with a felling & skill I paint my hell

Last ten lines of Sir Philip Sidney's Astrophel sonnet describing how gradually, and too late, he realised his own feelings about Stella:—

"Not at first sight, but with a dribbèd shot
Love gave this wound which while I breathe will bleed:
But known worth did in mine of time proceed
Till by degrees it had full conquest got.

I saw and liked, I liked but loved not," etc., etc. as above.

From B.M. Add: MS. 15232. f. 21^b: a volume described in the *List of Additions to the Dep: of MSS.*, p. 116, as "conjectured to be partly in the hand of Sir Philip Sidney and his sister the Countess of Pembroke." Compare with holograph letter, E.E., vol. III, plate 29, and it will be seen to resemble that handwriting, which is more formal and careful than the scribbled first draft of his Defence of the Earl of Leicester, E.E. vol. V, plate 13.

(In the original of Add: MS. 15232, f. 21^b, the effect is less black, thick and heavy, the ink having become pale.)



"TO EASE A BURDENED HEART":

Note on Philip Sidney's Sonnets and Songs.

As Philip Sidney protested that he wrote "*to ease a burdened heart*,"¹ but denied that "Petrarch's long deceased woes" influenced him in the least,² it is astonishing that one of his most eminent modern editors flatly contradicted him. "The 'Stella' of Sidney's adoration was avowedly modelled on Petrarch's *Laura*,"³ stated Sir Sidney Lee; and added that a detachment "which comes from much reading about love in order to write on the subject" is "the central feature of Sidney's sonnets."

But as Sidney in his opening Sonnet describes how "studying inventions fine" of other men did not help him, and how his Muse said "Fool, look in thy heart and write," the obstinacy with which some of his editors and biographers persist in treating his poems as literary exercises, is the more incongruous.⁴ Lee insisted that both Spenser and Sidney were merely imitating French or Italian models. But "*I am no pickpurse of another's wit*," declared Sidney:

" . . . Know that I, in pure simplicity,
Breathe out the flames which burn within my heart."⁵

Simplicity is the last quality which his critics to-day allow him; and what to him were the most natural similes, appear like "forced fancies" to commentators unfamiliar with the age and circumstances.⁶ But Sidney Lee, putting Penelope Lady Rich aside as of no consequence, scoffed at what he called "*specious pretensions to autobiographic confessions which the unwary reader may think he sees in the Sonnets*."

Spenser who was one of Philip Sidney's friends makes clear in his own "*Astrophel*" (1595) that Sidney's Sonnets were a true story. They were never published in Sidney's lifetime. Five years after his death, "*Syr P.S. His Astrophel and Stella*" appeared in print: "I thought it pity anything proceeding from so rare a man should be obscured," asserted one Thomas Newman when issuing them piratically. Nash who wrote the Introduction also objected to such jewels remaining "imprisoned in ladies caskets." But the publication was called in and confiscated: and the Stationer's Register duly records:

"Item paid to John Wolf when he rid with an answere to my Lord Treasurer, being with her maiestie in progress, for the taking in of booke intituled Sir P.S. *Astrophel and Stella*."

¹ Sonnet XXXIV. ²Sonnet XV.

³ "Elizabethan Sonnets," 1904; Introd: p. xxxvii.

⁴ Sir S. Lee not only refused to allow that Sidney meant what he said; but this scepticism was made to cover the whole era: "the love in Elizabethan poetry was nearly always feigned," stated Lee. This is to forget that Spenser's *Amoretti* were written to his future wife and his *Epithalamion* was the description of his own wedding.

⁵ Sonnet XXVIII.

⁶ A press critic welcoming Sidney's inclusion in "The Muses Library," deplored that his Sonnets are marred by "forced fancies, . . . partly an inheritance from the Middle Ages," and partly a "new irrationality of the Renaissance." The example by which the reader may "easily be irritated or wearied" is the *argent and gules* of Stella's complexion, (Sonnet XIII) which "tiresome affection," said the reviewer, was "not Sidney" but the fashion of his time. And nobody answered that as *argent and gules* (silver and red) were the 'tinctures' (colours) of the Devereux arms, Lady Penelope would not have failed to see the aptness of the reference.

Item paid the xviii September for caryeing of Newmans books to the hall. iiiid:”
i.e. for confiscating them and carrying them to the Stationer's Hall to be destroyed.¹

“*My words, I know, do well set forth my mind,*” wrote Sidney;² and there is nothing equivocal in his disgust against Lord Rich,

“That rich fool, who by blind Fortune's lot
The richest gem of life and love enjoys.”³

It was outrageous of G.E.C. in “*The Complete Peerage*” (1st ed: (1891) Vol. V. p. 401) to allege that Penelope Lady Rich was “guilty of a criminal intimacy with Sir Philip Sidney her former lover.” Sidney himself described how she

“would not let me, whom she loved, decline
From noble course, fit for my birth and mind;
And therefor by her love's authority
Willed me those tempests of vain love to fly.”⁴

“*Cupid is sworn page to chastity*”; “*Honour is honoured*,” says Sidney. And after his death Matthew Roydon, acquainted both with him and with Lady Rich, commended their affection in “*An Elegie or Friends Passion for his Astrophil*”:

“Above all others this is he
Which erst approved in his song
That love and honour might agree:
• • • •
Sweet Saints, it is no sin or blame
To love a man of virtuous name.”

That Lady Rich succumbed long afterwards to the persuasions of Charles Lord Mountjoy is a different story: one of the few genuine scandals of Queen Elizabeth's Court. We will consider it in its chronological place. But it affords no excuse for aspersions upon Philip Sidney; or for the inclusion, by a recent editor of his Works, of a vapid and grotesque diatribe about women, *the exact opposite to his genuine opinions and feelings*.

The admirable power of true love, says Sidney in “*Arcadia*,” is to enable the lover “*to bring forth the noblest deeds that the children of earth can boast of.*” And his shepherd boy, in the same romance, on coming for the first time into the presence of the King and Court, was not boorish, but behaved “with so pretty a grace that it seemed *ignorance could not make him do amiss, because he had a heart to do well.*”

All through Sidney's writings, prose or verse, it is the “heart to do well” that he values. In “*Arcadia*” two shepherds, both admiring the same beautiful shepherdess, Urania, exclaim: “Hath not the only love of her made us (being silly ignorant shepherds) raise up our thoughts above the ordinary level of the world, so that great clerks do not disdain our conference?”

Thus is struck the keynote of “*Arcadia*”; the power and inspiration of beauty.

“Soul is form and doth the body make,” says Spenser; and so with Sidney, inward “virtue” is generally accompanied by “goodly shape,” or “lovely countenance” or other external graces; and whether upon high or low, true love confers a nobility independent of time or place; a charm which only a loveless nature refuses to recognise.

It is not possible to gain our full share of pleasure from the Elizabethans unless we approach them as one of themselves: which the grafting of human sympathy on to exact scholarship makes possible. When, in “*Twelfth Night*,” Olivia objects to poetical discourses as mostly “feigning,” she

¹ There was another edition, undated, “At London Printed for Matthew Lownes”; and in 1598 there were appended to the 3rd ed: of “*The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia*,” “*certeine Sonnets never . . . before printed*” (extra to *Astrophel and Stella* then included with Sidney's other works).

² Sonnet XLIV. ³Sonnet XXIV. ⁴Sonnet XIV.

refers to the messages of the Duke whom she does not love and is resolved to reject. But Sidney's admiration was reciprocated.

"Stella; think not that I by verse seek fame,
Who seek, who hope, who love, who live but thee.
Thine eyes my pride; thy lips my history:"

No credit could be claimed for his poems, no inventiveness ascribed to them,—

"Since all my words thy beauty doth indite,
And Love doth hold my hand and make me write."¹

In his *Defense of Poesie* treating of the technical differences between classic and modern poetry,—commenting on the Italian, Dutch, Spanish and French languages in relation to the music and majesty of verse,—he had pleaded for "the English," before any other modern tongue, as best permitting the expression of melodious beauty:

"So that since the ever praiseworthy Poesie is full of virtue, breeding delightfulness, and void of no gift that ought to be in the noble name of learning, since the blames laid against it are either false or feeble, since *the cause why it is not esteemed in England is the fault of Poet-apes not Poets*; since lastly our tongue is more fit to honour Poesie, and to be honoured by Poesie, I conjure you, . . . even in the name of the Nine Muses, no more to scorn the sacred mysteries of Poesie; no more to laugh at the name of Poets as though they were inheritors to fools

" . . . if you have so earth-creeping a mind that it cannot lift itself up to look to the skies of Poetrie, . . . then, though I will not wish unto you the asses ears of Midas, . . . nor to be rimed to death as is said to be done in Ireland, yet thus much curse I must send you in behalf of all Poets: that while you live, you live in love and never get favour for lacking skill of a Sonnet; and when you die, your memory die from the earth for want of an epitaph."

Even as mediaeval poetry and romance were born of faith and valour, inspired by love, so, in Elizabethan literature, love was recognised as the guardian angel of genius. True love, as Castiglione had said, should so inspire the lover as to make him "more than man."²

¹ Sonnet XC. As to Lady Penelope's beauty, it is first mentioned during her childhood, by a Welsh bard (E.E. Vol. III, p. 26), and often afterwards. But the various portraits painted in her youth have vanished. The only picture known to the present writer is one in the drawing room at Lambeth Palace, depicting her late in life, in James I's reign, after she was Countess of Devonshire.

It is supposed that the *Defense of Poesie* was written in 1579 or 1580; whereas the Sonnets were mostly impelled by distress over Lady Penelope's marriage in 1581. When in the *Defense of Poesie* Sidney refers to himself as having "slipped" into poetrie "in these my not old years and idlest times," he was presumably referring to the masque he had composed to be acted previously at Wilton, and to the Elogues in *Arcadia*; not to the Stella and Astrophel Sonnets yet to come. To reply in detail to critics who insist that the Sonnets are "conventional" exercises, would be easy but tedious. None of the writers who arbitrarily dismiss Lady Penelope show any signs of having read her letters, (not to Sidney but to her relations and others). These have been examined by the present writer, and will be published in E.E. under their dates where relevant.

² *Il Cortegiano*: Book III. (ed.: 1727. p. 319).

NOTE: HENRY HASTINGS, THIRD EARL OF HUNTINGDON, K.G.

We have seen how when John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland married his son to Lady Jane Grey, he matched his daughter Lady Catherine with Henry Lord Hastings, son and heir to Francis 2nd Earl of Huntingdon, K.G. The Countess of Huntingdon was Catherine, eldest daughter of Henry Pole, Lord Montacute, and granddaughter of Lady Margaret Plantagenet, whose brother Edward, Earl of Warwick had been rightful heir to the Crown of England after Richard III was killed at Bosworth. (See Tabular Pedigree opposite.)

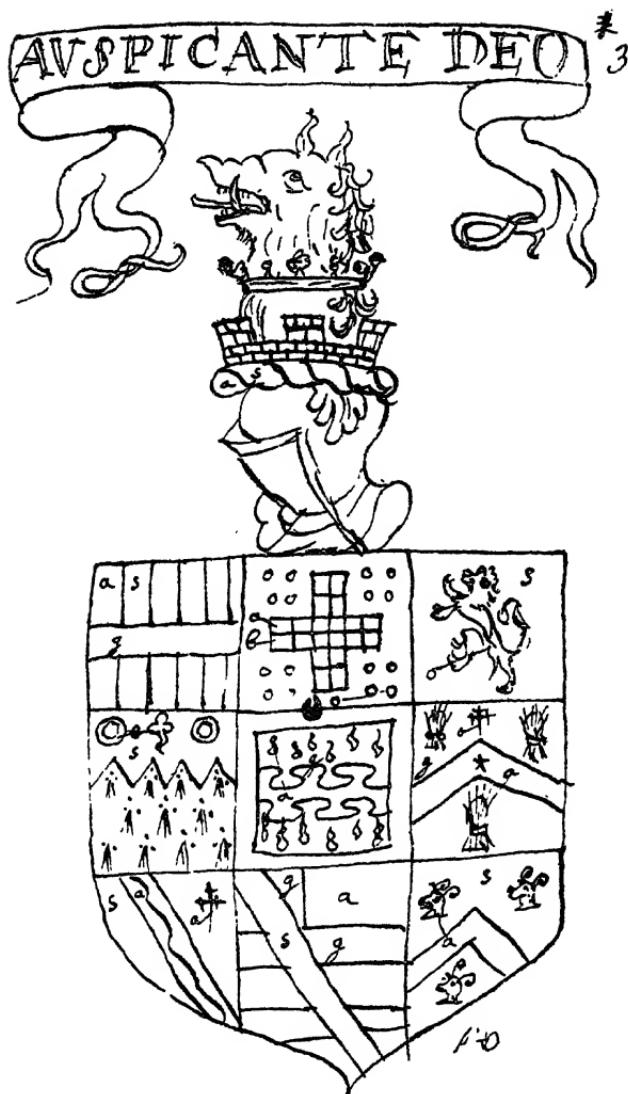
That the usurper Henry VII beheaded young Warwick, and Henry VIII butchered Warwick's sister, Lady Margaret (Countess of Salisbury), in her old age, might have disposed the Earls of Huntingdon to abhor the Tudor dynasty. But there is no indication that they cherished any thoughts of revenge.

In 1560, Henry Lord Hastings succeeded his father as 3rd Earl of Huntingdon, Baron of Hastings, Hungerford, Botreaux, Moleyns and Moeles. Thence onwards to his death in 1595, he was a devoted servant of Queen Elizabeth. But over and over again a rumour was afloat, among Spaniards and English Catholics, that the discontented Protestant Peers meant to dethrone Elizabeth and set up Huntingdon as King of England. Presumably it was his Plantagenet descent which gave rise to this assumption. But despite his near relationship to the late Cardinal Pole, he was, throughout Elizabeth's reign, a strong supporter of the Church of England ("a great Heretic," said the Spanish Ambassador). Brother-in-law of the Earls of Leicester and Warwick, he was in complete political accord with them and subsequently with Robert Earl of Essex.

A generous patron of "souldiars and schollars," he is less remembered to-day for his services to the Crown, and his charities to the poor, than for his harshness in compelling his ward Lady Penelope Devereux to marry Robert Lord Rich against her will.¹

¹A number of his letters, as Lord President of York, remain unpublished, but have been read through by the present writer, and such as are of interest in the crisis of 1588 will be given in Vol. VII of E.E. An elegaic ballad will also be quoted in its chronological place, 1595. There is a picture of Huntingdon in the National Portrait Gallery, panel 21 x 16 inches, purchased in 1910 from W. Harrison of Preston, into whose family it came through marriage with one of the Holdens of Ashton Hall. It has not any inscription, but is identified by the armorial insignia, with Coronet and Garter: the shield blazoned with Hastings in the first quarter, and the other fifteen quarters showing the chief ancestral alliances.

1



Rough sketch of Arms, Crest, and Motto of Sir Francis Walsingham,

Now first reproduced from a Latin MS. in the Bodleian Library. Particulars overleaf.

ARMS, CREST AND MOTTO OF SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM

Chancellor of the Most Noble Order of the Garter.

Here first reproduced from Douce-Ashmole MS. 786.

In "Mr. Secretary Walsingham and the Policy of Queen Elizabeth," Oxford, 1925, Vol. III, Ch. xviii, "Private Affairs," p. 148, Dr. Conyers Read alludes to this MS. in the Bodleian as "a small book of unknown authorship containing designs and descriptions of coats of arms dedicated to Walsingham as Chancellor of the Garter."

He does not specify the title, subject, or size; but his reference to "unknown authorship" implies that it is a literary work; whereas its text consists only of the etymology and insignia of the first created Knights of the Garter, in 1344, with the arms of each Knight blazoned in Latin and English, and tricked (not "designed") on the page opposite.

Its title gives an epitome of its contents: *Nomina Insign[i]a Etimologiae Insign[i]um descriptiones viginti-sex nobilissimum Equitum, Honoratissimi Ordinis aurati Sancti Georgij Fundatorum. Qui quidem Ordo erectus erat, ab inuictissimo Angliae et Franciae Rege Edoardo famosissimae memoriae tertio, atque in Castro Windelsorae per eundem Regem stabilitus, Anno Regni sui 19, Salutis vero 1344.*"

Students of Dr. Read's volumes have inferred that the Bodleian Library possesses the original MS., dedicated to Walsingham as Chancellor of the Garter. But the dedicated MS., which would most likely have been illuminated on vellum, is one of the lost Elizabethan treasures. The "small book" in the Bodleian is in the hand of Elias Ashmole, who was not born until 27 years after Walsingham's death.

Even without recognition of the hand as Ashmole's, it is plain this cannot have been a presentation volume; for the arms (which are the sole reason for the compilation) are only tricked in the same rough way as the Heralds employed when making notes during their tours of visitation: namely with letters to indicate the tinctures: Walsingham's *argent*, *sable*, and *gules*, are rendered by a, s, and g. The Walsingham arms, (with a crescent for difference, Sir Francis being the representative of the younger branch) are opposite the dedication:

"Illustri ac clarissimo viro D. Francisco Walsingham Equiti Regiae Ma: a secretis nobilissimi Ordinis Garterij Cancellario."

SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM, pair with his wife URSULA, LADY WALSINGHAM

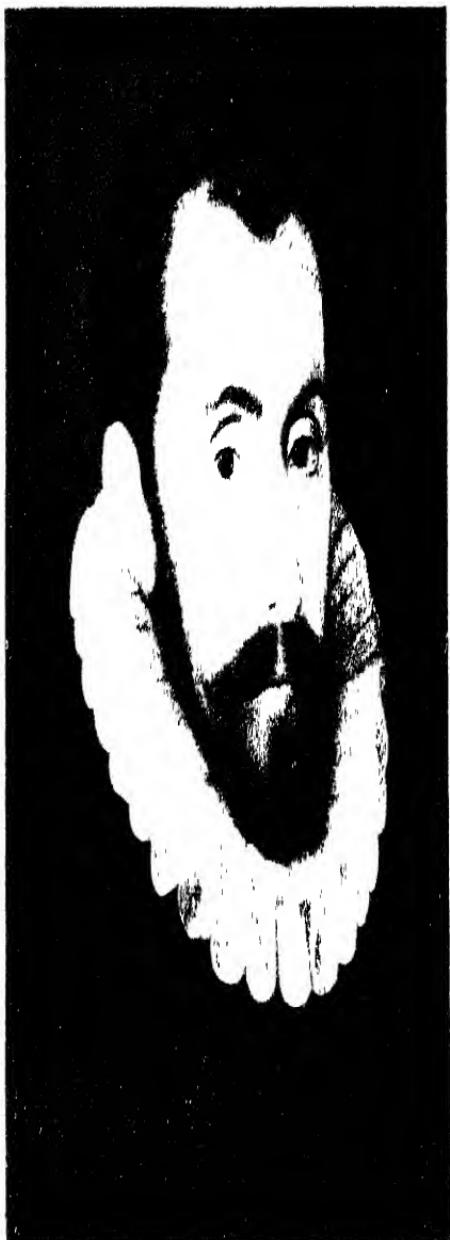
*Both purchased for the National Portrait Gallery, at the
sale of the Drummond Murray pictures.*

Lady Walsingham's picture, on panel, is dated 1583, the year of her daughter's marriage.

In 1566 Walsingham married the widow of Richard Worsley, Captain of the Isle of Wight. She was eldest child of Henry St. Barbe of Ashington, Somerset, of a family distinguished in itself and for its alliances.

Dr. Conyers Read, "*Mr. Secretary Walsingham and the Policy of Queen Elizabeth*," Oxford 1925 (3 Vols.) states that Walsingham probably married her for her "comfortable jointure" (which actually was small); that she was "a serviceable rather than a stimulating helpmeet," and that the Principal Secretary "evidently preferred widows because widows are proverbially easier to court." These generalities are misleading. Lady Walsingham was admired and trusted by those best qualified to judge: Walsingham himself; Sir Philip Sidney, who had known her well since his eighteenth year; Sir William Pelham, an extremely able man and intimate friend; Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex; any of whose testimonies should carry weight. Even if we had none of these, her letters, not known to Dr. Read, are characteristic; and the devotion of her daughter to the memory of "my dear Mother" after her death, would speak for itself, even if Walsingham had not described her in his Will, after nearly twenty-five years of marriage as his "trustie," "faithfull," "most kynde and lovinge" and "most well-beloved wife."

In writing of Elizabethans their own words should be used; otherwise we get not the 16th century but the 20th; not the subject of the biography but the imagination of the biographer.



PART III.

“*Ambitious, Politic, and Valiant.*”

CHAPTER I.

“IF YOUR MAJESTY HAD ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND.”

SECTION 3.

“*A sweet attractive kind of grace.*”

(*Sir Philip Sidney and his Marriage, 21st September, 1583*).

Of King Philip's two English godsons, Philip Howard, Earl of Surrey and subsequently of Arundel, and Philip the first-born of Lady Mary and Sir Henry Sidney, it was Sidney whose experiences of warfare and diplomacy had begun early. Arundel, though prominent in tournaments and festivities, was not assiduous in matters of state.

Born during the darkest period of the Dudley's broken fortunes,¹ Philip Sidney was regarded now as heir presumptive to their revived glories. His mother's eldest surviving brother Ambrose, Earl of Warwick, thrice married, had no child; and the younger brother Robert, Earl of Leicester, was the probable inheritor of his possessions. Leicester in 1580 or 1581 had a son by his marriage with the widow of Walter Earl of Essex; but Philip Sidney's near relationship to such powerful peers was nevertheless reckoned likely to contribute to his swift advancement. His other connections included the royally-descended Henry Hastings, Earl of Huntingdon; and the famous Thomas Radclyffe, Earl of Sussex.² As his father Sir Henry Sidney had been twice Lord Deputy of Ireland, and was also Lord President of Wales, Philip from childhood had been educated to regard service to Queen and Country as his destiny.

Since he had been sent Ambassador to the Emperor,³ his contemporaries at home and abroad regarded him as a potential statesman or warrior. Spenser's dedication to him, in 1579, of “*The Shepherd's Calendar*,” as patron of “learning and chevalrie,” Hakluyt's dedication to him as an encourager of exploration and cartography,⁴ and Lichefield's offering him “*De Re Militari*,”⁵ are typical.

¹ Eliz: Eng: Vol. I. p. 71.

² See Table of Peers in 1584 E.E. Sec: 7. When Earls were few, and new perages were seldom created, the moral and worldly prestige of an English Earl was beyond anything realised to-day.

³ E.E. Vol. III. pp. 65, 71-73. ⁴ E.E. Vol. IV. p. 258.

⁵ E.E. Vol. IV. p. 78.

Today he is too often treated as a man of letters who wandered to the wars, and perished for no sufficient reason in a "mad charge"¹; and appears as a minor poet whose "distractions" in Court and Camp prevented him from reaching the front rank in literature. But Sidney himself calls his verses and romance his "toys." Had he survived to perform the official labours expected of him, he would have been allowed less and less leisure; so we may doubt if he would ever have finished "*Arcadia*," or further have wooed the Muses. His elders destined him not to write masques and madrigals but to be prepared to step into their places and carry on their policy. So the marriage of a man in his position was something more than a private affair, even though Walsingham objected to it being regarded as a matter of State.

We have seen that Walter Earl of Essex had been anxious to broth his eldest daughter to Sir Henry Sidney's eldest son; but Lady Penelope Devereux was only twelve years old when her father died. Essex from his death-bed had pointed out to the Queen how ill-provided his children would be with material means unless she helped them. He especially implored her to arrange in due time for their marriages;² and his friend and "servant," Edward Waterhouse, had urged Sir Henry Sidney in 1576 to make suitable settlements. This, just then, was impossible, so expensive had Sir Henry found his office of Lord Deputy of Ireland.

None of the wishes of Walter Earl of Essex were carried out; not even the tour abroad he had intended for his elder son. The most likely reason was shortage of money.

On 10th March, 1580-1, the Earl of Huntington had suggested to Lord Burghley and Sir Francis Walsingham that young Lord Rich, "a proper gentleman," was "in years very fit for my Lady Penelope Devereux" if the Queen's "favour and liking" to the match could be obtained.³

Elizabeth appears not to have made any objection to her near kinswoman marrying one of the new nobility.⁴ A Latin letter from Lady Penelope's

¹ Corbett, 1898: answered E.E. Vol. VI.

² E.E. Vol. III. pp. 63-64.

³ Lansdowne MS. XXXI. 40.

⁴ According to G. E. C.'s "*Complete Peerage*," (1895,) Vol. VI, p. 340, he was "not improbably descended from Richard Rich, Mercer, Sheriff of London, 1441-42." The family fortunes had been founded by a successful lawyer, Sir Richard Rich, who acquired Leighs (or Lecce) Priory in Essex, and was created a Baron, 16th Feb: 1546(7); Lord Chancellor, 1547 to 1551. Rich assented to Edward VI's settlement of the Crown on Lady Jane Grey; but deserted her cause and won the favour of Queen Mary. His wife was sister of "William Jenks, citizen and grocer of London." His grandson, the 3rd Baron, was born in 1560; and so was three years older than Lady Penelope, whose age is actually she was 18 (Born 1563; see Milles' *Catalogue of Honour*, 1610, and E.E. Vol. III, p. 26.) Young Lord Rich did not inherit his grandfather's talents, excepting only the art of getting on in the world. Lady Penelope, of a family "famous of old for worthie deeds" (noble even before the Norman Conquest), was forced against her will into this marriage with a man who had little except money to recommend him. He prospered exceedingly; and in the next century was created Earl of Warwick (the title of the Dudleys, Nevilles, and Beauchamps, which was considerably lowered in prestige by thus being conferred upon one so devoid of personal merit).

brother to his guardian the Lord Treasurer Burghley,—endorsed “*Aug: 1581, The Erle of Essex to my L. upon his going wth my L. Rich a while from ye university,*” dated “¹⁰ Cal-Septemb. 1581,”—shows that Rich had tempted Essex away from Trinity College, Cambridge, without Burghley’s leave: whereon Essex, not yet fifteen, wrote to confess this mild delinquency, the blame for which he took entirely on himself:

“Your love for me, most honoured patron, will not allow you to be angry with me, because before the journey that I have just accomplished I did not first obtain leave from one whose authority I obey in all my affairs. Your kindness will pardon me for having attached myself as fellow traveller and partner in honest pleasure to my Lord Rich who at the University most kindly called on me, and *who for many reasons plainly apparent to your wisdom, is very dear to me.*”¹

Though Essex was still a ward of the Crown, and had as yet no authority, Rich made friends betimes with the head of the house. In less than twenty years, he was voting for Essex’s execution. When we see the callous way he behaved when Essex could no longer be of use to him, we will realise that Philip Sidney’s loathing for “that rich fool” need not be ascribed solely to prejudice.

The unhappiness of the marriage, and the manner in which Sidney blamed himself for realising too late his own affection for the lady, is embodied in his verses written “to ease a burdened heart.”

“I might, unhappy word, O me, I might,
And then would not, or could not see my bliss :
Till now, wrapt in a most infernal night
I find how heavenly day (wretch) I did miss.

• • • •
No Paris made thy Helen his,
No force, no fraud robbed thee of thy delight,
No Fortune of thy fortune author is :
But to myself myself did give the blow.

• • • •
O punisht eyes,
That I had been more foolish or more wise.”²

Not published until six years after his death, and then piratically, these sonnets have been the theme for tedious and unnecessary controversies. The favourite 19th and 20th century fallacy that they were “literary exercises,” was devised by critics who can have understood neither love nor Philip Sidney.

¹ “*et qui mihi multis de causis tuae sapientiae non obscuris, est charissimus.*” Sidney’s biographers usually give only the words italicised. The preliminary explanation is now first translated, from orig: Lansdowne MS. 33. Art. 10. f.20.

² Sonnet XXXIII. “*Syr P.S. His Astrophel and Stella . . . 1591.*” (Pirated). This is queried by Sir Sidney Lee as “?1582-1584.” Sidney was married in September, 1583, and it is fantastic to suppose he would have written this or any other such outpourings in ‘84, or at any time subsequent to his betrothal in ‘83. See E.E., ante, pp. 59-61.

If in 1581 he remonstrated with his elders and sued for Lady Penelope's hand, no record can be found of this; and his uncle Huntingdon and the others were not necessarily monsters if they refused him at the twelfth hour what he had not ertswhile desired. But the "*Astrophel and Stella*" sonnets make clear that the "foul yoke" under which "Stella" suffered came upon her partly through Sidney's delays. Torn by remorse, regret, compassion and indignation, he poured out his feelings in verses which were never intended for the outer world.

That his passion for Penelope Lady Rich could only be conquered with difficulty may be inferred from the poignant distress in one of his poems, *held back from publication until eight years after his death*:

"Oft have I mused, but now at length I find
 Why those that die, men say they do depart.
 'Depart!'—a word so gentle, to my mind,
 Weakly did seem to paint death's ugly dart.
 But now the stars with their strange course do bind
 Me one to leave with whom I leave my heart;
 I hear a cry of spirits, faint and blind,
 That parting thus, my chiefest part I part.

Part of my life, the loathèd part to me
 Lives to impart my weary clay some breath,
 But that good part, wherein all comforts be
 Now dead, doth show departure is a death—
 Yea, worse than death: death parts both woe and joy;
 From joy I part, still living in annoy."

It had been during the Shrovetide festivities of 1582-3 that Queen Elizabeth paid a visit to Walsingham's country home, Barn Elms in Surrey (now the Ranelagh Club,) an estate with associations going back to before the Norman Conquest.¹ She as yet had no suspicions of any impending betrothal; and there is nothing to forecast the irrational animus she was subsequently to show against Frances Walsingham.²

Philip Sidney had been knighted some weeks earlier; partly for his virtues, but also to enable him to deputise for his father who was to have acted as proxy

¹ See App. pp. 90-91, "Sir Thomas Sandes of Throwley in Kent" was dubbed Knight "at Barne Elmes neere Fulham at Shrovetide anno 1582" (3) "the 11 of February." Metcalfe's *Book of Knights* (1885), p. 134.

² It is usual to state that hardly anything is known about Walsingham's daughter. The first 19th century suggestion that she may have been remarkable, came from the late Adeline Duchess of Bedford, when, as Marchioness of Tavistock, she collaborated with Lady Ela Russell in compiling the Woburn Abbey Catalogue. Though this was merely an inference, the present writer was impressed by it; but not until after the Duchess's death in 1920 discovered materials of poignant human interest. Though most of these relate to Walsingham's daughter subsequent to Sidney's death, references to her in the present volume are prelude to the larger story which will follow in Vols. VIII to X.

for Casimir, Count Palatine of the Rhine, for his installation as a Knight of the Garter.¹

A letter to Walsingham in Sidney's hand is usually supposed to refer to his engagement. It begins from Wilton, "This 17th December" and no year.

"Right Honorable. The country affords no other stuff for letter but humble salutations, which indeed humbly and heartily I send to yourself, my good Lady" (i.e. Lady Walsingham), "and my exceedingly like to be good friend"

This may be assigned to 1582: not 1581 as conjectured in the Calendar.²

That Philip Sidney was not betrothed to Principal Secretary Walsingham's daughter in 1581 should be deduced from the much later date of the first allusion to the project, by Lord Burghley the intimate friend of all concerned. Shortly before St. Valentine's Day, 1583 our system, the Lord Treasurer, writing to Walsingham in relation to Ireland, the Netherlands, and other pressing concerns of State, adds, "*I heare of a comfortable purpose towards, for your daughter. God bless it . . . and so is there great hope.*"³

¹ S^r Philippe Sidney, dubbed at Windesore on Sonday the 13 of January 1582"(3), "and was on that day lykewyse installed for Duke John Cazimer Conte Palatine and Duke of Bavir" (Metcalfe's *Book of Knights*, 1885, p. 134.) Also "S^r Peregrine Bertie Lord Willoughby of Eresby, dubbed at Windesore on Sunday the 13 of January 1582, and was that day installed of the Order for the Kinge of Denmark."

In Unpublished S.P. Dom: Eliz: CLVIII. No. 11 (calendared as 13 January, 1583, orig: undated,) is a Memo on "things to be considered by the Knights of the Order." How "Duke Casimir" to be placed; what place "Sir Henrye Sidneye" is to take above other Knights that are of the Privy Council but not of the Order. It would seem from this that it was Sir Henry—himself a K.G.—who was intended to act as proxy for "Duke Casimir," and that Sir Philip was acting for Sir Henry. No. 12 (undated) is the oath to be taken by a Prince. No. 18 of Vol. CLX refers to the Knights of the Garter; and No. 20, (undated, but calendared as 23 Ap: 1583,) is a list of "Noblemen of the Garter appointed to attend on Her Majesty on St. George's Daye."

² Professor M. W. Wallace, "Life of Sir Philip Sidney," Cambridge, 1915, pp. 274-275, gives it as dated 1581, but does not state its whereabouts. It is in S.P. Dom: Eliz: Vol. CL. No. 85. He calls it the "perversity of scepticism" if we question that "Sidney began to plan his own marriage with the daughter of his friend Walsingham" "only a few months" after the wedding of "Stella" with Lord Rich. This matter is not to be solved by faith but by dates. At the time Professor Wallace regards Sidney as arranging a marriage with Frances Walsingham she was twelve years old. (See E.E. p. 87). A letter to Walsingham from Captain Edward Denny from Ireland, 6th October, 1581, sends greetings to Lady Walsingham and "Cousin Frances," urging Walsingham to "make a great account" of Sidney, and "hold him to you as the most worthy young man in the world;" and Professor Wallace (p. 275) quotes this as a "reference to . . . the marriage plan which was consummated shortly afterwards." But the marriage did not take place until nearly two years later. The Professor suggests "it was probably in connection with the marriage settlements that Sir Henry Sidney, in January 1582, made his Will, by which after leaving to Robert a Lincolnshire Manor and making a similar bequest to Thomas, he bequeathed the whole of the remaining property to Philip." Most of the property being entailed, would in any case have descended to Philip. The strictness of the entail was afterwards a cause for trouble. (E.E. Vol. VI). On consulting the Will (Orig: P.P.C. 27. Windsor, 8th January 1581-2) nothing appears in it to imply an approaching marriage. But the marriage settlement memoranda do exist. (E.E. p. 75). They were discovered nine years after Professor Wallace published his book.

³ Holograph. Dated "from my house at Westm: the Xth of Februar: 1582"(83). Endorsed with same date. S.P. Dom: Eliz: Vol. CLVIII. 62. (Letter only briefly calendared in Cal: S.P. Dom: 1581-90, p. 95.)

Neither in 1581, nor early in 1582 when Sir Henry Sidney made his Will, had any matrimonial project been formed for Frances Walsingham with Philip Sidney. The present writer has discovered that the bride suggested by Lord Leicester was Lady Dorothy Devereux; younger sister of "Stella," and, if a contemporary Welsh bard is to be trusted, quite as beautiful.¹ In a long Will, hitherto unknown, all written in Leicester's own hand, dated "30 of January 1581" ('82 our reckoning,) expressing his feelings towards God, the Queen, his wife, son, and brother, his stepson "the young Earl of Essex," and other of his connections; and friends, including Sir Francis Walsingham, he adds,

As there has been "*some talk of marriage between my wellbeloved nephew Phill Sidney and the La[dy] Dorothy Devereux*," and as "*my hearty and earnest wish was and is that it should be so, for the great good will and liking I have to each party, and for that the said Ph[ilip] is my nephew and nearest of blood next mine own brother and failing any issue of mine own body is to be my next heir*;² *I do most heartily desire that such love and liking might be between them as might bring a marriage.*"³

Far from Leicester, as one of his modern biographers alleges, forcing upon Lady Dorothy an unsuitable husband in order to free himself from suspicion that he wished to match her with King James, he did not bring pressure to bear upon her even when he was most eager for her alliance with his favourite nephew.

Lady Dorothy, relatively to her position, was poor. Wherefore Leicester, though himself in financial difficulties, offered his aid:

" . . . I will give and bequeath (within one year after such agreement,) to be paid to the said Lady Dorothy and Philip two thousand pounds over and besides her father's bequest. I will also upon the same condition, failing issue of my own body, give him after my own decease immediately III⁰ [three hundred] pounds a year in lands and tenements in fee simple, which land shall be the moiety of the Lordship of Denbigh. In the meantime in token of my good will, I give and bequeath to my said nephew Philip III⁰ in money: besides a further gift and declaration of my good will which is set down in another Instrument for his better assurance."⁴

When Leicester made this Will, Lady Dorothy was sixteen years and four months old, then regarded as a suitable age for matrimony. Leicester's words as to her and Philip, "*I do most heartily desire that such love and liking might be*

¹ Poem by Hew Lleyn: E.E. Vol. III, p. 26.

² i.e. if Leicester were not outlived by his son Lord Denbigh to whom the Will had already referred.

³ The present writer, apparently is the first to read the early Will.

⁴ Spelling modernised from Longleat Dudley MSS. Unpublished holograph Will, January 30, 1581-2. Of three portraits Leicester possessed of his step-daughter, all have vanished.

"The Lady Dorothe" at Wanstead Place; and at Leycester House two: "*A Picture of the Lady Dorothe*," and "*One of the Lady Dorothe, halfe proportion*." Inventories of the Earl of Leicester's pictures: "*Notes and Queries*," 3rd. Ser: Vol. II. (1862). No portrait of Lady Dorothy can now be found, not even in possession of her descendants the Duke of Northumberland and Lord De L'Isle and Dudley.

between them" as should incline them to marriage, imply that this attraction was lacking.

"Excellent Lady," Philip Sidney made Argalus say, in "*Arcadia*," "Know that if my heart were mine to give, you before all others should have it; but Parthenia's it is, though dead. There I began, there I end all matter of affection. I hope I shall not long tarry after her, with whose beauty if I only had been in love I should be so with you, who have the same beauty. But it was Parthenia's self I loved, . . . which no likeness can make one, no commandment dissolve, . . . nor no death finish."

Possibly in these words of Argalus we have the explanation: "*with whose beauty if I only had been in love I should be so with you who have the same beauty;*"—for this does not occur in the earlier "*Arcadia*," first written at Wilton, but only in the enlarged version, to which Sidney added this story of Parthenia and Argalus. Or the resistance may have been from Lady Dorothy, who the following year clandestinely married Sir Thomas Perrott, and thereby incurred the Queen's heavy displeasure.¹

In "*The Life and Death of Sir Philip Sidney*"² prefaced to the folio edition of his works issued in 1674, his alliance with Principal Secretary Walsingham's heiress is thus described:

"A Lady must be provided for him, whose deserts eased him of the trouble of courtship the sole Daughter and Heir of Sir Francis Walsingham is preferred to be his consort, with great hope and expectation that the world should be enriched with a Male-heir of these united perfections."

Walsingham who "*impoverish't himself to enrich the State*," made "England his heir, and was so far from building up of fortune by the benefit of his place" that in order "to purchase dear intelligence from all parts of Christendom" he "*demolished that fair Estate left him by his Ancestors Wonder not then if he bequeathed no great wealth to his Daughter.*"

But "though Sir Philip received no considerable accretion of means by his match, yet accounting vertue a portion in itself" he was an example "*to all gentlemen not to carry their love in their purses*" nor ever to prefer profit before merit in marriage.

This, issued retrospectively, shows the long-lived popular recollection that Walsingham's devotion to England's interests had been combined with systematic neglect of opportunities to profit himself.³ The expenses of the Queen's chief Ministers were always greatly in excess of the remuneration received. But though

¹ In Vol. VII E.E. the character and actions of Lady Dorothy will be elucidated for the first time. She and her marriages have been the theme for a grotesque tangle of confusion and scandal, in so-called "Romances of the Peerage," and the errors have been echoed by otherwise serious writers.

² Preliminary to "*The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia written by Sir Philip Sidney Knight. The Thirteenth Edition. With his Life and Death; a brief Table of the principal Heads, and some other new Additions. London. Printed for George Calvert, at the Golden-Ball in Little Britain. MDCLXXIV.*" (Sm: folio, containing also "*The Defence of Poesie*," the *Astrophel* and *Stella* poems, many Latin elegiac verses upon Sidney.)

³ His latest biographer, Dr. Conyers Read, postulates that the Principal Secretary was exceedingly rich; partly from his stables, and a list of manors in his possession. But landed property in England has seldom been a source of excessive wealth; and when we are told that Walsingham in London had a "pretentious mansion" which "boasted a garden," the answer is that in the Elizabethan era all London houses of the nobility and gentry and many shopkeepers and some of the "common sort" had gardens; and that Walsingham's mode of living does not suggest the aggressive opulence Dr. Read imputes in his "*Mr. Secretary Walsingham*," &c. 1925. Vol. III, Chap: XVIII.

in 1590 Walsingham was to die poor, when Sidney was betrothed to his daughter in 1583 his resources had not yet been drawn upon to the utmost. At the time of the wedding, he settled on Frances £200 a year.¹ His other arrangements we will soon examine.

A year and eight months prior to Philip's marriage, Sir Henry Sidney was in such difficulties that "as well for the satisfaction of sundry his debts, as for the defraying of many great charges grown and sustained by means of his service as twice Lord Deputy of the Realm of Ireland," he had "of late times" been compelled to "make money"; and so, with the assent of his wife Lady Mary, he had sold in Lincoln and Rutland lands which had been part of her jointure. Subsequently his indenture with his brothers-in-law Warwick and Leicester, appears to be a form of safeguarding the future of his three sons; but it does not contain anything suggestive of arrangements for Philip's wedding.²

Among Walsingham's papers is a volume of 84 pages, bound in a parchment cover on which is written "*Sir Henry Sidney's book 1582*"; and in the margin of the first page "*S^r H^r Sidney to S^r francis Walsingha[m]*" in Burghley's hand, and the date "1582," ('83 N.S.) 1st March. It is Sir Henry's account of his career; showing how ill the Queen had requited him.³

"I have understood of late that coldness is thought in me in proceeding in the matter of marriage of our children. In truth, Sir, it is not so, nor so shall it ever be found; for compremitting the consideration of the articles to the Earls⁴ named by you and to the Earl of Huntingdon, I most willingly agree; and protest I joy in the alliance with all my heart. But since your letters of the third of January, to my great discomfort I find there is no hope of relief of her Majesty for my decayed estate in her Highness's service (for since you gave it over I will never make more means, but say, *Spes et fortuna, valete*). I am the more careful to keep myself able, by sale of that which is left, to ransom me out of the servitude I live in for my debts; for as I know, Sir, that it is the virtue which is, or that you suppose is, in my son that you made choice of him for your daughter, refusing haply far greater and far richer matches than he, so was my confidence great that by your good means I might have obtained some small reasonable suit of her Majesty; and therefore I nothing regard any present gain, for if I had, I might have received a great sum of money for my good-will of my son's marriage, greatly to the relief of my present biting necessity."

Again lamenting "*the thraldom I now live in*," and making excuses based on contingencies that might arise, Sir Henry completes the story of his life, and ends,

"Oure Lady blesse yo^u with long lief and healthful happiness.

I praye yo^u S^r commend me to my good ladie Cowsen and sister yo^r wief, and blesse and busse our swete doughter. And if yo^u will voutchsauf, bestowe a blessinge upon the young knight S^r Philip.

¹ Statement by Walsingham, in his Will. (In extenso, E.E., under date of his death.)

² His unpublished Chancery I.P.M. (ser: 2) Vol. CCXIX. No. 53. quotes this Indenture, 2nd Aug: 23 Eliz: (i.e. 1582).

³ S.P.D. Eliz: CLIX. No. 1. It begins "Deare S^r," not then a formal opening, "Dear" being a word only used between kinsfolk or intimates. A few paragraphs are given by Professor Wallace, "*Life of Sir Philip Sidney*," 1915, p. 292; but without stating where the original is to be found. He calls it "the well known letter." It is a bound book. From a copy at Lambeth Palace the gist of it has been printed in Cal: of Carew MSS, ed: Bullen and Brewer.

⁴ His brothers-in-law, Warwick and Leicester.

"From Ludlow Castell wth more Payne than hast[e] the first of March 1582,[3] Yor most assured fast friend and loving brother."

The "yong knight's" years nearly doubled those of his intended bride; who had been born in the late summer or early autumn of 1568; the second of three children. The youngest died in 1579; and the elder in 1580; since when Frances had been known as her father's "sole heyre."² But that Walsingham had not given up hope of a son, appears from "*Articles . . . touching an assurance . . . in consideration of a marriage hereafter to be had between Sir Philip Sidney and Mistress Fra. Walsingham*"³

Bequeathing all his lands in Wales, South[ampton] and Surrey, after his own death and that of his wife, to his daughter, as the wife of Sir Philip, and to their heirs, Sir Francis stipulates that if he himself should have male issue, he must be able, on the payment of £5000 within one year, to ransom these lands, and transfer them to his own heir male.⁴

In the year of his daughter's marriage his health was worse than usual:

"This last night," he wrote to Sir Christopher Hatton, "I was troubled with an extreme pain in my right side, which did bereave me of my sleep; it continueth with me still, . . . accompanied with an unaccustomed faintness, and a disposition altogether subject to melancholy. I hope I shall enjoy more ease in another world than I do in this"⁵

Burghley, a fortnight prior to his reference to "the comfortable purpose," had received from Philip Sidney a letter relating to a prospective official appointment.

"Right Honorable my singular good Lord.

I have from my childhood been much bound to your Lordship, which as the meanness of my

¹f.42^b. No signature. The Notes of extra matter to be inserted make it seem that the MS. is a first draft. Walsingham's sister Barbara was married to Sir Henry's brother Thomas Sidney of Walsingham Priory, Norfolk; hence this reference to Lady Walsingham as his "sister." She was his sister-in-law's sister-in-law. (Only a man of Sir Henry's generation could have called Sir Philip "yong" in 1582-3 when he was close on twenty-nine. We shall find Francis Bacon subsequently feeling himself "ancient" at thirty-one.)

²See App: B. "*Sir Francis Walsingham's Three daughters.*" p. 87.

³Penshurst MSS, 1½ pp. Signed "H. Sidney, Fr. Walsingham" (Sir Francis). Found by Mr. C. L. Kingsford circa 1924, when examining the supplementary papers not printed by Collins in 1746. See "*Report on the Manuscripts of Lord de L'Isle and Dudley preserved at Penshurst Place.*" 1925. Vol. I, pp. 272-273 (epitome of 8 articles). (Undated, but would be 1583.)

⁴Ib. p. 273. Some of Sir Francis's arrangements were not carried out until a considerable time after the wedding.

Sir Philip's unpublished Inquis: Post Mortem Chancery Vol. CCXIX, No. 53, refers to the triple Indenture of 27 July, 26th Eliz: (i.e. 1585) between Sir Henry Sidney, Sir Francis Walsingham, and Sir Philip Sidney, by which the manor of Easton, Co. Hants, was settled upon Sir Philip and his wife Dame Frances and the heirs of their bodies, with remainder to the right heirs of Sir Henry. The same indenture is given in epitome in Sir Francis Walsingham's Inquis: Post Mortem (27 Sep: 34th Eliz: i.e. 1592) "in consideration of a marriage between the said Philip Sidney, Knight, and Lady Frances, daughter and heiress apparent of the said Francis Walsingham then before taken place, and for the better preserving of the manors, lands, &c., aforesaid in the blood of the said Frances, agreed that on or before the 10th day of October next following he would make several feoffments, &c. &c. See Webb, Miller, and Beckwith's "*History of Chislehurst.*" 1890, pp. 361-362.

⁵Add: MS. 15891. f.110. Nicolas's "*Life of . . . Sir Christopher Hatton*" (1847), p. 340

fortune keeps me from ability to requite, so it gives me daily cause to make the bond greater by seeking and using your favour towards me.

"The Queen at my Lord of Warwick's request hath been moved to join me in his office of Ordnance; and as I learn, her Majesty yields gracious hearing unto it. My suit is that your Lordship will favour and further it, which I truly affirm unto your Lordship I much more desire for being busied in a thing of some serviceable experience than for any other commodity, which I think is but small, that can arise of it."¹

Despite the Queen's "gracious hearing," as soon as she knew of the suggested marriage she showed irritation.

From "Barn Elms the 19th of March 1582,"-83 n.s., Walsingham wrote sorrowfully to Hatton:

"Sir, As I think myself infinitely bound unto you for your honourable and friendly defence of the intended match between my daughter and Mr. Sidney, so do I find it strange that her Majesty should be offended withal. . . . For the matter, I hope when her Majesty shall weigh the due circumstances of place, person and quality, there can grow no just cause of offence. If the manner be misliked, for that her Majesty is not made acquainted withal, *I am no person of that state but that it may be thought a presumption for me to trouble her Majesty with a private marriage between a free gentleman of equal calling with my daughter.*

"I had well hoped that my painful and faithful services done unto her Majesty had merited that grace and favour at her hands as that she would have countenanced this match with her gracious and princely good-looking thereof, that thereby the world might have been a witness of her goodness towards me. As I thought it always unfit for me to acquaint her Majesty with a matter of so base subject as this poor match, so did I never seek to have the matter concealed from her Majesty, seeing no reason why there should grow any offence thereby."

(Most likely this was meant to be repeated to the Queen; otherwise "this poor match" is unduly deprecating, though "poor" in a financial sense it surely was.)

"I pray you, Sir, therefore, if she enter into any further speech of the matter, *let her understand that you learn generally that the match is held for concluded*, and withal to let her know how just cause I shall have to find myself aggrieved if her Majesty shall show her mislike thereof"

(A plain way of indicating that he did not mean to be coerced into abandoning the arrangement.) Commending the cause to Hatton's "friendly and considerate holding," he adds,

"I will give order that my Cousin Sidney shall be forewarned of the matter, who, as I suppose, will not be at the Court before the next week. If her Majesty's mislike should continue, then I would be glad if I might take knowledge thereof, to express my grief unto her by letter; for that I am forced, in respect of the indisposition of my body, to be absent until the end of this next week, whereof I made her Majesty privy."²

On the 20th of April, Roger Manners was writing to his father the Earl of Rutland, "I have been with Mr. Secretary, who is somewhat troubled that her

¹ The pay was 100 to 200 marks a year.

"I conclude your Lordship's trouble with this, that I have no reason to be thus bold with your Lordship but the presuming of your honorable good will towards me; which I cannot deserve, but I can and will greatly esteem.

"I humbly take my leave, and pray for your long and prosperous life. At Court. This 27th of January 1582.

Your Lordship's most humbly at commandment

PHILIP SIDN[EI].

1583 n.s. Spelling modernised from orig: Harl: MS. 6993. f.35. Endorsed "27 Janu. 1582. S^r Philip Sidney to the L. Treasurer. To be joyned wrth my L. of Warwick in y^o Office of y^o Ordinance."

² Add: MS. 15891. f.101. Nicolas, "Life and Times of Sir Christopher Hatton," 1847, pp. 327-328.

Majesty conceives no better of the marriage of his daughter with Sir Philip Sidney; but I hope shortly all will be well."¹

Manners's next letter, 17th May, reports that "Her Majesty passes over the offence."² But she still delayed signing the promised Patent to Sir Philip as joint Master of the Ordnance. So, on "This 20th of Juli 1583," he appealed again to Burghley:

"I humbly crave of your Lordship your good word to Her Majesty, for the confirming that grant she once made unto me, of joining me [by] Patent with my Lord of Warwick: whose desire is that it should be so. The longer discoursing hereof I will omit as superfluous to your wisdom"³

It was settled that Sir Philip and Lady Sidney were to live with Sir Francis and Lady Walsingham. The informal Agreement, newly found in 1924, states,

"Sir Francis is well contented, and will undertake to paie or [discharge] the debtes of the sayd Sir Philip, so far as shall amount to Mv. cl. i" (£1,500), "and will allow to the said Sir Philip and Mistress Fraunces and their servants their [diet] yf they will take it with him, and in his house. Also provision for horses, etc. But this is not meant to be putt into the Conveyance."⁴

The betrothal was announced in March; and in July Sir Philip Sidney signed away his extensive rights in relation to Sir Humphrey Gilbert's projected conquests and discoveries.⁵ The same month his French friend Duplessis wrote,

"I am desirous of knowing whether you are married or not. I cannot help supposing you are, on account of the long chasm of three months in your correspondence, which could not methinks have happened unless your engagements had been very inimportant."⁶ Not long before the wedding, Sir Henry Sidney was writing to Sir Francis Walsingham of the "love and liking" which had grown between their "dear children."⁷

¹ Hist: MSS. Com: Report on Duke of Rutland's MS. at Belvoir Castle.

² Ib. Sixteen years later, Roger Manners, when Earl of Rutland, was to marry the only daughter of this marriage. Particulars and portrait under date.

³ Spelling modernised from orig: Lansdowne MS. 39. 29. Signed "Your Lordshippes most humbli at Commandment Philip Sidnei." Addressed "(To) The right honorable (my sin)gular good Lord the Lord Treasurer of England, etc." Endorsed "Sr Ph: Sidney to my L. His suite to be joined in patent with y^e E of Warwick." Zouch (1808) assumes he never held this office. He did, from July 1585. In the Patent of the Earl of Essex as Master General of the Ordnance is a list of his predecessors at the Office of Ordnance including *Sir Philip Sidney*.

⁴ Cal: Penshurst MSS; Vol. I. ed: Kingsford, (1925). p. 273. That it was not Sir Henry Sidney but Sir Francis Walsingham who was to pay Philip's debts, makes it likely that the first overtures for the match had come from Walsingham. ⁵ E.E. Vol. IV. p. 248.

⁶ "Mémoirs de Messire Philippe de Mornay, Seigneur du Plessis Marli," Vol. I. p. 232. This assumption that matrimony would be so engrossing recalls that Duplessis himself had made what was rare in France, a love match, in circumstances which his wife afterwards described in a Memoir composed for their son. She was a young widow when first he met her. Both had been in Paris during the Massacre in August 1572, though not then known to each other.

⁷ In "The Sidneys of Penshurst," (p. 70) it is wrongly asserted that "in this marriage there was but little sincere love on either side"; and in "Sir Philip Sidney's Astrophel and Stella . . . edited . . . by Alfred Pollard, London . . . MDCCCLXXXVIII," p. xxxi, the editor observes that though he sees no reason to doubt Frances Lady Sidney being a good wife, she is one "who at the hands of some recent writers had been somewhat hardy dealt with; . . . partly perhaps from a needless desire to pair her off with Lord Rich as an unworthy mate." Instead of "needless" the epithet "slanderous" would not be too severe.

Among intercepted letters to the Queen of Scots now at Hatfield is a long discourse in French, unsigned: editorially dated 1585, but more likely to have been 1583, because the affairs of the "S^r de Valsingham" and "le Comte de Lecestre" are descanted upon, in connection with "*l'alliance de Chedeney [Sidney] avec la fille dudit Walsingham*" as if that alliance were a new factor. "*Grande jalouzie*" against both Walsingham and Leicester is described as aroused in Queen Elizabeth's mind by "*ladit alliance*".¹

Six months elapsed between Sidney's engagement and the wedding. Forecasted by Walsingham's secretary for St. Michael and all Angels Day (29th September) the ceremony took place on Friday the 21st September, as recorded by Sir Henry Sidney.² He does not say whether it was at Barn Elms or in London. It is likely to have been without display or pageantry, because of the recent death of the bridegroom's uncle by marriage, Thomas Radclyffe, Earl of Sussex, K.G.: whose widow Frances, sister of Sir Henry Sidney, was in dire woe, not only for the loss of her "deare Lord," but also because she had been "most wrongfully disgraced" as undutiful to the Queen.³

Her sorrows are subsequently described by herself three days before Sir Philip's wedding:

"Most gracious and most merciful Queen, I must humbly beseech your Majesty to view these few lines, written with many tears, and ever in the bitterness of my soul, . . . And albeit I am now beaten down with many afflictions and calamities hardly to be borne of flesh and blood, yet is there no grief that pierceth me so deeply as the sinister suggestion I should be defamed to be undutiful to your most excellent Majesty and injurious to the honour of my dear Lord lately deceased.

For the first, I appeal to God himself, the searcher of all hearts and revenger of all disloyalties: for the second I appeal to none but unto my most gracious Queen, whether I have not from time to time been more careful of his health, honour, and well-doing than of mine own soul and safety; *refusing all friends and friendships in this world for so dear a Lord, whom I followed in health and sickness, in wealth and woe . . .*

" . . . Marvel not, most dread Sovereign, if the vigilant malice of those who have long complotted my ruin, who espied their time when my Lord through anguish and torments was brought to his utmost weakness, to break the perfect bond and love of twenty-eight years

¹ Hatfield MSS. Cal. III. No. 229 pp. 123-128. In 1593, seven years subsequent to Sidney's death, an "Espaniolated" English Catholic emphasised the Sidney-Walsingham match as having strengthened the Protestant party. The matter under discussion was the near relationship of Sidney's uncle by marriage, Henry Hastings, Earl of Huntingdon, to the Crown:

"By his own marriage with the daughter of the late Duke of Northumberland and sister to the late Earls of Leicester and Warwick he [Huntingdon] was like to have drawn a very great and strong alliance if the two Earls had lived; and especially Sir Philip Sidney was born of the other sister of the present Countess of Huntingdon, and his own sister was married to the Earl of Pembroke that now is, and himself to the daughter of Sir Francis Walsingham, Chief Secretary of State . . . by all which means the Earl [of Huntingdon] was thought to be in very great forwardness."

"*A Conference touching the Succession to the Crown.*" (Attributed to Father Parsons, S.J.) 1594. Part II. Cap.10. (2nd ed: 1681, p. 198.)

² See facsimile of his memo. E.E. plate 8.

³ "Your poor friend . . . F. Sussex," to Sir Christopher Hatton. 18 Sep: 1583 "From my desolate close at Bermonsey" Add: MSS. 15891. f.112. Nicolas, "*Life . . . of Sir Christopher Hatton*" (1847) pp. 344-345. For Sussex's eminent service in suppressing the Northern Rising and carrying the war into Scotland, see E.E. Vol. II, pp. 28-42.

continuance, have also by cunning sleights devised and by slanderous speeches instilled into your Majesty's ears the want of that duty the which I pray God may sooner fail by lack of life than want of loyalty.

"And thus, most noble Princess, am I trodden down by my inferiors, not only in wordly maintenance, which I nothing esteem (having far more, by God's goodness than I deserve), but also am touched in the chiefest point of honour, and the highest degree of duty: which bringeth on every side such a sea of sorrows, as were it not for the fear of God's revenge I could with all heart redeem them with the sacrifice of my life.

"Wherefore, most gracious Lady, even for the pity which ever hath been engrafted in your Princely heart, I most humbly beseech you, *see not your Majesty's poor servant trodden down by the malicious speeches and unconscionable extremities of those who took the advantage of my Lord's painful weakness to work disgrace; nor increase my just and perpetual griefs with your heavy displeasure.* I pray God that I may rather presently die while I write these lines than that I may live unwillingly to deserve your Majesty's just dislike.

"In the meantime I will not cease to pray to the Almighty for your Majesty's life, health, and prosperity.

"Your Majesty's poor but true faithful servant to die at your feet.

F. SUSSEX."¹

But despite Sussex turning against her, his bequests include all his jewels, value £3,169, with four thousand ounces of gilt plate; also his coaches and horses; his house in Bermondsey, and manors in Norfolk and Essex: possessions sufficient to maintain her state as an Earl's widow, and enable her subsequently to found and endow Sidney Sussex College, in memory of herself and her Lord, for the "glory of God," the advancement of the Church of England, and the benefit of scholarship.²

At Barn Elms in the autumn of 1583, Sidney began his married life when the green of the elms and beeches would have been changing to golden. Precisely three years and one day after his wedding, he was to receive his fatal wound. But anticipating for him a long and happy life, Walsingham appeared to have secured a brilliant future for his daughter.

No expressions of her feelings in regard to her first husband have come to light; but an acquaintance with him dating back to her earliest childhood may have been a factor in a contented acceptance of her parents' choice.

In the "*Astrophel*" Sonnets, Sidney had written of "Stella,"

"What if we new beauties see,
Will they not stir new affection?
'I will think they pictures be,
(Image-like of saints' perfection)
Poorly counterfeiting thee.'"

¹ Add: MS. 15891. Nicolas, "*Life of . . . Sir Christopher Hatton.*" pp. 345-346.

² The material available as to Lady Sussex is scanty. There are not any autograph letters from her at Sidney Sussex College, nor in the Cambridge University Library; nor does she receive much attention in J. B. Mullinger's large work "*The University of Cambridge . . .*" 3 Vols. 8vo. 1873-1911; nor are there letters from her among the Marquess of Bath's MSS. at Longleat, nor (apparently) among the Sidney MSS. at Penshurst Place.

Particulars as to the College will ensue under date.

Walsingham's daughter was no poor counterfeit; she had her own "*grace et douceur*,"¹ and twelve years later, when she was twenty-seven, Spenser described her as "most beautiful."²

Her "*extraordinary handsomeness*" was remembered for over a century in England; but had been so entirely forgotten by 1866 that learned antiquaries exhibited as her portraits two paintings of matrons who had been elderly before she was born.³ Her actual portrait exists,—though not painted when she was Lady Sidney. It shows her with large wide-apart brown eyes, long dark lashes, arched eyebrows, a small rounded chin, and a long slender throat. Her dress is elaborately embroidered; but there is no overloading with jewels in the super-Oriental style of Elizabeth Regina. Pearls around her neck and on her breast, pendant pearls from her ears, and small pearls edging a diaphanous veil from her velvet and lace headgear, are her only ornaments.⁴

When she married Sidney, there was between him and her a gulf of fourteen years; but she would most likely have known his "*Arcadia*"; which was circulated in M.S. among his intimates. Children then read and wrote in their own tongue at four years of age, and from seven or earlier were expected to compose letters in French and Latin.⁵

Conspicuous and admired, Sidney's lot was set among the best this world can give; and he was attractive to nearly all who met him:

¹ MS. poem to her; particulars later, under probable date.

² He used this epithet sparingly. The Lady Helena, "Marquesse of North-hampton," to whom he dedicated "*Daphnaida*," he called "right honorable and most vertuous." Lady Carey, in the dedication of "*Muiopotmos*," "right worthy and vertuous," "brave and bountiful." Lady Elizabeth and Lady Katherine Somerset, whose weddings are described in "*Prothalamion*," are "honorable and vertuous." But the "right honorable and most vertuous Lady Margaret Countess of Cumberland," and her sister (Sidney's aunt by marriage) "Lady Marie Countesse of Warwick" are (in the epistle offering them "*Foure Hymns*,") admired for their "beautie" as well as for "true love." Sidney's sister Mary Countess of Pembroke and Sidney's widow, receive the warmest admiration of all.

³ E.E. p. 89. "Pictures erroneously called Sir P. Sidney's wife."

⁴ Portrait will be reproduced, E.E. Vol. VIII.

⁵ "As Spring is the only fitting seede time for graine setting and planting in Garden and Orchard, So youth, the April of man's life, is the most natural and convenient season to scatter the Seeds of knowledge upon the ground of the mind." "*The Compleat Gentleman . . .* By Henry Peacham, Mr of Arts of Trinity Coll: Cambridge . . . Anno 1622. Imprinted at London for Francis Constable . . ." Ch: 3, p. 21.

In James I's day, Peacham rebuked parents for allowing their children to remain untaught in those early years, when child is "like the young Hop" which if not provided with a pole "takeith hold of the next hedge." The time would come when "deeply" would they "bewaile their misspent or misguided youth," wishing too late "(as I have heard many) that they had lost a joyn, or halfe their estates, so they had been held to their Bookes when they were young."

To be "bookish from very childhood" had been the Elizabethan ideal, for both sexes; and Peacham commends the learning of "*Ladies and Gentlewomen in our land, some yet living, from whose fair faces Time I trust will draw the curtain.*" Ib. Ch: 4, p.36. ("Ladies and Gentlewomen" is not tautological: for Elizabethan English did not denote by the word "Lady" anyone below the rank of a Knight's wife. The daughters of Knights and Esquires, as such, were "Gentlewomen," until they married Knights or Peers.)

"You knew, who knew not, Astrophill?
 . . . Of him you know his merit such,
 I connot say, you heare, too much."
 "His personage seemed most divine,
 To heare him speake and sweetly smile
 You were in Paradise the while.
 "A sweet attractive kinde of grace,
 A full assurance given by lookes,
 Continall comfort in a face. . . ." ¹

In his refinement and resolution, his charm and distinction, he was precisely the man whom a girl of fifteen might spontaneously welcome as an embodiment of "valour and vertue": commended alike by scholars and warriors; respected by Princes; and described by her own father as his "chiefest conforte."

¹ "An elegie or Friends passion for his Astrophill." By Matthew Roydon. In Spenser's "*Astrophel*," 1595. Title page E.E., under date.

CHRONOLOGICAL NOTE.

Thomas Ratcliffe, or Radclyffe, 3rd Earl of Sussex, K.G. Died 1583.

1525 (?). Born eldest son of Henry Radclyffe, 2nd Earl; and, as heir apparent, styled Viscount FitzWalter.

1543. 25 September. Knighted by King Edward VI.

1553. Married Lady Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Wriothesley, 1st Earl of Southampton.

1553. Appointed Captain of the Gentleman Pensioners [a Guard resembling the Continos of Spain].

1554. (April to July). One of the Embassy to Spain to treat of Queen Mary's marriage.

1554-5. January. Funeral of the Countess of Sussex.

1555. (licence 26 April). Married Frances, sister of Sir Henry Sidney, K.G.

1556-7. 17th Feb. Viscount FitzWalter succeeded to the Earldom on the death of his father.

1556-1558. Lord Deputy of Ireland for Queen Mary.

1557. 23 April. Elected Knight of the Garter.

1559-60. Lord Deputy of Ireland for Queen Elizabeth.

1560-65. Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

1567-8. Ambassador to Vienna to invest the Emperor Maximilian with the Garter.

1569. November. Lieutenant-General, to subdue the Northern Rising. (See E.E. Vol. II, pp. 21-42).

1570-72. The same; carrying the war into Scotland.

1570. Privy Councillor.

1572. Chamberlain of the Household (till his death).

1583. 9 June. Died at his house at Bermondsey. (Will dated 1st April and 21st May, 1583). He was succeeded by his brother: See Tabular pedigree facing p. 82.¹

¹ The reason the newly-compiled pedigree gives only one Sir John Radclyffe where Burke's Peerage gives two Sir Johns, is as follows:—(Note by Charles P. Hampson to E. M. Tenison): “Sir John Radclyffe married (first) in 1411, Cecilia Mortimer, widow of Sir John Herling. If Sir John Radclyffe died in 1420, as alleged, his son could then only have been under 9 years old. Sir John was Seneschal of Aquitaine in 1422; which would be impossible if he had died in 1420; and it could not have been his son, who was then about eleven. The second Sir John is said to have died in 1440, and is stated to have been actively employed for 28 years. The alleged second Sir John (if born 1412) would then be less than 28. But the 28 years corresponds with the beginning of the military career of the first Sir John. We may reasonably infer there was only one Sir John Radclyffe, the father of the first Lord Fitz-Walter (of the Radclyffes) and son of Sir James de Radclyffe of the Tower. The error has arisen presumably from the existence of a contemporary Sir John Radclyffe of Ordsall, who died in 1421, and was also a noted martialist. Also Cecilia Lady Radclyffe died about 1420, and was buried at Atteburgh; and her death may have been confused with that of her husband (who afterwards married Katherine Burnell).”

For the FitzWalter Barony (created 1295) see Burke's Peerage, 1925 to 1931 under FitzWalter (Henry FitzWalter Plumptre of Goodnestone Park, Canterbury, 20th Baron, for whom the ancient title was called out of abeyance, and since whose death in 1932 it has fallen into abeyance again).

"BEWARE OF THE GIPSEY."

A notorious anecdote examined.

In "*Fragmenta Regalia. Written by Sir Robert Naunton Master of the Court of Wards. Printed Anno Dom. 1641.*" appeared a story which has been so often and so uncritically echoed that it must be repeated once more, to be dispassionately considered.¹ In Naunton's account of Thomas Earl of Sussex, his "good service" in Ireland is disposed of without any reference to his position as Lord Deputy and Lord Lieutenant; and there is not one word about his subduing the English Rebellion of 1569, and averting the Spanish invasion which was then intended under Don Fernando, Duke of Alba.

Sussex is described by Naunton as "goodly gentleman, . . . brave and noble, . . . true and constant to his friends and servants," chiefly in order to emphasise an "antipathy in his nature to that of Leicester," and "continuall opposition" to Leicester at Court:

"For my Lord of Sussex was of a great spirit and could not brooke the other's empire; in so much as the queene upon sundry occasions had somewhat to do to appease and atone them, until death parted the competition, and left the place to Leicester."

What the occasions were, and on what questions Leicester and Sussex clashed, Sir Robert does not vouchsafe to explain; but ends with a tale that Sussex "in his last sickness, gave this caveat to his friends: 'I am now passing into another world, I must leave you to your fortunes and the Queen's grace and goodness; but beware of the gipsey (meaning Leicester) or he will be too hard for you all; you know not the beast as well as I do.'"

Had this been compared with Sussex's authentic utterances, it would long since have been recognised as not in his manner; and it might also have been noticed that these alleged "friends" are not named, and that there is nothing to show where Naunton, writing half a century after Sussex's death, picked up this story. Furthermore, even if Sussex actually alluded to some "gipsey," the suggested identification with Leicester is singularly inappropriate: Leicester being fair-complexioned, with grey eyes, and as unlike in appearance as in habits to a "gipsey."

That Sussex had been a strong advocate for Queen Elizabeth's French marriage, whereas Leicester was only tardily persuaded by Burghley to approve of it, we have already seen (E.E. Vol. IV, pp. 153-154). But Naunton's account of Leicester is strangely malevolent, considering that he owed his own first advancement at the Court to Leicester's stepson.

These "*Fragmenta Regalia*," though written long after the deaths of the noblemen concerned, have coloured nearly all modern interpretations of the great Elizabethans; who are judged less by what they wrote of themselves and of each other than by Naunton's quips. A genuine reference by Sussex to Leicester, when Sussex was in the throes of his last illness, and knew himself to be dying, we will now see in his Will, his wording of which is conspicuously unlike the crude style ascribed to him by Naunton.

This Will was drawn up 1st April, 25th Eliz: (1583), with codicil of May 21st; and Sussex died 9th June, after a very long illness. It was passed for probate 15th November 1585. The

¹ "*Fragmenta Regalia. Memoirs of Elizabeth and her Court and Favourites. By Sir Robert Naunton, Secretary of State to King James the First. A new edition . . . the text collated with the Manuscript copies in the British Museum,*" London, 1824. pp. 49-50.

"supervisors" were Lord Burghley and the Earl of Rutland; and the executors were his "trusty and well-beloved friends," Sir Christopher Wray, Lord Chief Justice of England; Sir Walter Mildmay, Chancellor of the Exchequer; Sir Gilbert Gerrard, Master of the Rolls; and Sir Thomas Mildmay.

All his jewellery had been bequeathed to his wife; except five precious stones he presented to Philip of Spain when sent to negotiate the marriage with Queen Mary.

Among other bequests, "for the true, faithful, kind and natural love which I have always found in my dearly beloved brother-in-law Sir Thomas Mildmay, £500."

To his brother and successor Sir Henry Ratcliffe, out of his house at Newhall where he had entertained Her Majesty, he left the hangings which were in the Queen's bedchamber; and the hangings bought from "Horatio Palavicion" (Palavicini), which were in the withdrawing room; the hangings of gilt leather in the chamber of Mistress Frances Howard, and the hangings of the Dance of Death in "the puce chamber"; also the hangings "which did then hang in my Lord of Leicester's outer chamber there, and the hangings of gilt leather which did then hang in my Lord of Leicester's bedchamber there; and the bed of . . . cloth of silver and cloth of gold embroidered with crimson satin, which my Lord of Leicester then lay in"; also all the furniture in my Lord of Leicester's bedchamber.

That Sussex, who is usually imagined now as hardly on speaking terms with Leicester, entertained him in his principal house so frequently as to call a bedroom by his name, and that the bed was hung with cloth of silver and gold,—then only permitted by the sumptuary laws to persons of exalted rank,—is in remarkable contrast to the "gipsey" story; which historians henceforth should cease repeating.¹

¹ Captain B. M. Ward, late of the King's Dragoon Guards, is to be thanked for examining Lord Sussex's Will at Somerset House; and reporting on it to the present writer, whose system of testing the characters of eminent personages from their own Wills, instead of from retrospective gossip, has already been exemplified in relation to Walter Earl of Essex. E.E. Vol. III, p. 38; and concerning Leicester himself, whose holograph Will of 1581-2 was unknown till quoted and partly reproduced in collotype in "Elizabethan England," Vol. III, pp. 163-164; and plate 29. See also Vol. V, plate 12.

SIR HENRY SIDNEY'S NOTES ON THE BIRTH AND MARRIAGE OF
HIS ELDEST SON:

*Holograph entries in his Psalter; reproduced from the original at Trinity College,
Cambridge, (MS, R.17.2).*

By permission of the Master and Fellows of Trinity.

The description of Philip's godfather as "the greate King Phllippe, king of Spayne" shows the memo to be retrospective; for in 1554 the Emperor Charles had not yet abdicated in favour of Philip, who was then King of Naples, not of Spain. The epithet "greate" is the point of interest.

The nativitie of philippe Sydney sonne and heire of sr Henrie
Sydney knight, and the Ladie Marie his wyfe, eldest daughter
of Iohn, duke of Northumb. was one fryday the last of November
being sainte Andrenes day, a quarter befor fyve in the
morning. Annis RRegis philippi, et Marie RRegine, primo et
secundo. et anno Dni. Millesimo. Quinquecentesimo. Quinqua. et
Simo quarto. His godfathers were the greate kyng
Phillipe, kyng of Spayne, and the noble Iohn Russel erle
of Bedford. And his godmother, the most vertuous Ladie Jane
Duchesse of Northumb. his grand mother.

The mariage of S^r Philip Sydney wh^t marrid
Frances Wassingham daughter to S^r Frances
Wassingham knight then princall Secretarie
to the Queenes most excellent Ma^t was on
friday the one and twenty day of September
in the yeare of our Lord. ane thousand five
hundred four score and thre.

APPENDIX A.

A MODERN HYPOTHESIS ANALYSED.

(*The Moral Character of Walsingham's daughter and heiress*).

In the "Life of Sir Philip Sidney," 1915, p. 295, after observing, "we may wish we knew more of the character of his wife and of her relation to Sir Philip, but there is no reason whatever for supposing that their marriage was not as truly a successful one as we could wish it to have been," Professor M. W. Wallace advances in a footnote a hypothesis which, if true, would not only have prevented a successful marriage with Sidney but would have made it unlikely that Walsingham's daughter would have been sought as a wife by any Elizabethan courtier :

"In the Domestic State Papers of Elizabeth's reign (Vol. CLVIII) under the year 1583 is a document tentatively assigned to the month of February. It is a petition of a certain John Wickerson addressed to Walsingham. The petitioner has been a prisoner in the Marshalsea for two years by his commitment for his rash contract of matrimony with Mistress Frances which to relinquish would be a perpetual scruple and worm in conscience and hazard of body and soul. He solicits Walsingham's consent and good will to the performance of the said contract; otherwise they must live in adultery and a scornful spectacle and a mocking stock to the world.¹ Walsingham has endorsed the petition: 'Desires to be enlarged after his long imprisonment and that I would not any longer continue my dislike of his contract with Mrs. Frances.' The document is very perplexing. It certainly seems to refer to Frances Walsingham. With whom else would Walsingham's dislike of Wickerson's contract of matrimony be so strong that he would imprison the would-be husband for two years?"

There ensue conjectures on the age of Sidney's wife. Accepting as her portrait one erroneously shown as hers at Penshurst, said by Professor Wallace to be dated "1590 Aet 40," (the year on the picture actually is "1589") he suggests 1550 as her birth year, and that she

"may have been a daughter of Walsingham's first wife by whom he is said to have had no children. . . . Mary, another of Walsingham's daughters, married Christopher Carleill, the famous navigator, a son of Walsingham's first wife by a previous marriage, and she was living in 1609."

Mary was never married. She died aged not quite six; her burial, "Marie daughter of Sir Francis Walsingham," is recorded in the Barnes Parish Register for June, 1579. Frances was the second child of a marriage which took place in 1566; and the year of her birth need never have been a mystery. As she was heir to her parents, the place to look is in the Inquisitions Post Mortem of Sir Francis and Lady Walsingham. Professor Wallace's date 1550 would make her four years older than Sir Philip Sidney. But—as the Inquisition shows—she was fourteen years younger than Sidney.

To "live in adultery" was an extremely serious charge in those days: "*As chastity is*

¹ No quotation marks given by Professor Wallace, so the reader cannot tell which are Wickerson's own words.

the honesty of women, so honesty is the chastity of men. Either of them once impaired is irrecoverable;" is an epigram ascribed to Walsingham.¹

When in 1915 Wallace put forward the identification of Walsingham's daughter with the adulteress "Mistress Frances," this was already familiar to readers of Fox Bourne's "*Sir Philip Sidney*"; where Wickerson's petition is made the basis for an assertion that Frances Walsingham had "*engaged herself to an earlier lover*" prior to her betrothal to Sidney.²

This identification was not Fox Bourne's. The originator, whom he did not mention, was Lemon; who, when editing the Calendar of State Papers for 1581-90, gave an abstract of the petition; with Walsingham's endorsement; and filled in after "Mistress Frances" the name "*Walsingham*" in square brackets, with a query; adding "Frances, daughter of Sir Francis Walsingham was married to Sir Philip Sidney in March, 1583." (p. 98. Note.) Likewise it was this editor who—dating the month of Sidney's marriage March instead of September,—set the "adulteress" letter at a venture in "*Feb: 1583*," instead of informing the public that the original is not dated at all.

Addressed "To the right Honorable Sr. Francys Walsingham Knight Prinsipall Secretory to the Queenes most excellent Ma^{tie} and of her Highnes most Honorable privie Counsell," the petition might have been sent to Walsingham at any period of his term of office, from 1573, when his daughter was in her fifth year, up to his death in April, 1590, when she had been Sidney's widow three and a half years. The modern arranger of the State Papers pencilled upon the MS. two hypothetical dates: (a) "Eliz: about 1580," and (b) "1583 Feb. q." But if Wickerson wrote in "*about 1580*," and had then been in prison two years, at the time of his arrest the Principal Secretary's daughter would have been nine or at most ten. Neither Fox-Bourne nor Wallace looked for the date of her birth.³ Nor did either take the precaution of examining the MS. upon which this scandal is based; or the first thing they must have noticed is its absence of date.

The editorial date, "February, 1583," is the more infelicitous as it was on the 10th of February, 1583, that Lord Burghley wrote to congratulate Walsingham on "a comfortable purpose" for his daughter.⁴ Presumably the "comfortable purpose" was the projected alliance with Sidney. Had there been any scandal about Walsingham's heiress and John Wickerson, the Court and City would have rung with it. But this name is nowhere to be found, except in "*the humble petition of John Wickerson in great distresse about two yeres in the Marshalsey.*" This must now be printed in extenso.

"In all humbleness beseecheth y^r good Hon^rs charitable compassion you^r Humble Sup^t John Wickerson in great distresse *about two yeres in the Marshalsea upon you Hon^rs com(mitmen)s* to his great losse of time and hinderance, appealing to your hon^rs wonted clemency and mercy to conceave the best of him, and will not over slightly steine the great charge of contienc that he hath taken upon him by his rashe contract w^t M^res Francys, wh^t to relinquish wilbe a perpetual scropple and worme in contenc and hazard of bodey and soule wh^t is more to be regarded then all the goods in this trancitory wourld.

"May it theirfore please your^r good honor^r of your^r unspeakable goodness and godly consideration

¹ "Sir Francis Walsingham's *Anatomising of Honesty, Ambition, and Fortitude . . .*" Lord Somers' *Tracts*, ed: 1809, Vol. I. p. 499.

² "Sir Philip Sidney" (Heroes of the Nations) p. 288. Note.

³ She was born between July and mid-September, 1586. (See E.E. App: B. p. 87).

⁴ S.P. Dom: Eliz: CLVIII, No. 62. Holograph, E.E. p. 69, ante.

to weigh and have remorse unto his perilous stat, and vouchsafe yet now at the length to grant your consent and good will for performance of their said contract in the holy state of matrimony, that their bodies remayne not in continual torture, and to the losse of the inestimable grace and mercy of God by livinge in adultery, and thereby perseuer a scornfull spectacle and mockinge stoke to the world: and grant your good hono^rs favorable warant for his liberty that he be not utterly undon by imprisonment. And he shall for ever be most espetially bound to pray for the prosperous preservation and increas of your most honorable estate."¹

"Upon your honors com^t" does not necessarily mean that "M^res Francys" was the cause of the imprisonment. But at the time of the petition she was "*living in adultery*" with Wickerson, and he had been "*about two years*" a prisoner in "*the Marshalsea*." *How could "living in adultery" in the present tense have been compassed, unless "M^res Francys" was also in the Marshalsea?*—a practical consideration which Lemon, Fox-Bourne, and Professor Wallace overlooked.

Wickerson's request to be allowed to make these irregular relations regular, that he and "M^res Francys" might cease to be "*a scornful spectacle and mocking stock to the world*," is language no man could have used to the Principal Secretary of State about his daughter.

The "Marshalsea" from which Wickerson wrote may have been either the Marshalsea prison of the Queen's Bench or the Marshalsea of the Queen's household. In neither case is any short list of prisoners available. To search the Rolls and Records would be a lengthy task, and is superfluous; for whether Wickerson and "M^res Francys" had been Walsingham's servants or not, the wording of the petition should now make plain that the suggested identification of "M^res Francys" with the Principal Secretary's daughter is one of the most astonishing blunders perpetrated by an otherwise careful editor of Elizabethan MSS.

Before Mr. Lemon took away the character of Frances Walsingham—celebrated throughout her own day, and long after, as much for her "*vertue*" as her "*beautie*,"—he might have reflected, *1st*, that there is no internal evidence by which to date the petition; *2nd*, that "*the young lady your daughter*," as Lord Burghley calls her to Walsingham, would not, in so courtly an age, have been alluded to in terms such as Wickerson employs.²

Before presenting anew to the public, as on their own authority, Mr. Lemon's fancy, Sidney's biographers might have considered what likelihood there was that Sir Henry Sidney, in whom family pride and responsibility to the next generation were conspicuous,—and whose son was the heir presumptive to the glories of the Earldoms of Leicester and Warwick,—would have recorded the marriage in his Psalter with satisfaction if the bride had been "*living in adultery*," a "*scornful spectacle and mocking stock to the world*"?

Wickerson's lamentation for his fault, and his wish to make atonement, are here printed for the first time in full, in the hope that Professor M. W. Wallace will delete his state-

¹ No signature; but apparently the original petition. Addressed and endorsed as already quoted. Italics mine. E.M.T.

² According to Elizabethan manners a relationship if mentioned in correspondence was usually cited in connection with the person addressed. Sidney, writing to his father-in-law in 1586, alludes to his wife as "your daughter"; similarly Edward, Earl of Oxford, mentioning his Countess (Anne Cecil) to the Lord Treasurer, refers to "your daughter." Captain Denny, who was the Walsingham's near relation and intimate friend, sends a message familiarly to "my cousin Frances." But of various references to Walsingham's daughter the only instance of her being called "M^res Francys" without addition of surname or kinship is in the text of private notes for the agreement between her father and Sir Henry Sidney, with her surname in the heading, "Mistress Fra. Walsingham"). E.E. p. 73.

ment that such a production "certainly seems" to refer to Walsingham's daughter. Also that all who write history will see how unsafe it is to form conclusions from abstracts or epitomes.

Elizabethans looked to posterity to enshrine them in just remembrance. Yet there are few periods in regard to which more numerous misapprehensions have arisen,—chiefly from this habit of accepting hasty inferences as "*certainly*" credible. To clear away such errors, by dispassionate investigation, should be the aim of every writer who undertakes to interpret the dead to the living.

NOTE: "MRS. PHILIP SYDNEY" AND BEN JONSON.

When in 1588 Dr. Zouch described Walsingham's daughter as "a young lady of great beauty and worth," who won Sir Philip by "those lovely qualities which embellish and improve the female character," he derived his eulogy from a poem "from the Muse of Ben Jonson," "presented" to her "soon after her marriage": or so Zouch supposed.¹

But considering that at the time of Walsingham's daughter's wedding, Ben Jonson at the most would have been ten years of age, it is hardly credible that he wrote of Sir Philip's wife,

*"I must believe some miracles still bee
When Sydnyes name I heare or face I see"*

with congratulations that Cupid himself had been taught to pay homage to "virtue" in the person of "Mrs. Philip Sydney."

Walsingham's daughter was never called "Mrs. Philip Sydney." The custom of distinguishing a wife by her husband's Christian name is modern: and "Mrs. Philip Sidney" was not applicable to a bride whose husband had been knighted eight months before his marriage and two months prior to his betrothal. Dr. Zouch mentions the knighthood conferred on Sidney at Windsor Castle as in January 1583 (n.s.): but fails to see that it invalidates his argument.

Moreover, when in 1616 Ben Jonson's "Epigramme CXIV," "To Mrs. Philip Sidney" was first printed, Walsingham's daughter had for 26 years ceased to bear the name of Sidney. She was by then forty-eight; and had been shattered by "immeasurable sorrows" and "infinite afflictions." (These words are her own.) There was, however, a youthful "Mrs. Philip Sidney," Sir Philip's niece and namesake, daughter of his brother Robert. Manifestly she was the subject of the verses, which ever since 1588 have been taken as describing her uncle's wife.²

¹ "Memoirs . . . of Sir Philip Sidney," pp. 210-211.

² Unmarried ladies were "Mrs." (Mistress); and "Philip" was used as a woman's name interchangeably with "Philippe" and "Philippa." For verses see "Epigrammes, I Booke" in "The Works of Benjamin Jonson," 1st folio, p. 806. (B.M. No. C.39. k.9.) Though not published until 1616, this had been licensed in 1612. "Mrs. Philip Sidney" soon became the wife of Sir John Hobart, but lived only a short while. By 1620 she was dead. (The date of her marriage is not given in G. E. C.'s *Complete Baronetage*, Vol. I, p. 12, nor in Hasted's *Kent*, I, 412.)

Jonson's editors have repeated Zouch's error. In "The Works of Ben Jonson with notes by William Gifford," edited by Francis Cunningham, 1871, (B.M. 2042.b) Vol. III, p. 252, the poem is headed "To Mistress Philip Sidney"; and this is stated by Gifford to have been addressed to Walsingham's daughter.

APPENDIX B.

SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM'S THREE DAUGHTERS.

There has been much confusion as to Walsingham's children. The eldest of the three daughters was born subsequent to the 8th of July, 1567.¹ The next, Frances, the following year, not earlier than July but before the 23rd of September. The third, Marie (after an interval of four and a half or five years) while her father was Ambassador in Paris. A long letter from Sir Thomas Smith, one of the Secretaries of State, "to my verie good Lord the Lord Burghely, L. high Treas: of England," dated "from Hampton Court this VII of Jan: 1572" (1573 new style) refers to Walsingham's anxieties over his expenses. Smith relates how he told the Queen

"that the poor gentleman there was undone, having bene at so great charges, and now all things waxing so deare: And his wief beying here and great with child. Yt is trew (saith his Majestie), I heresay he had sold an hundred markes a yeaere land: and his wief is almost out of her wittes for sorrow."²

But the Queen does not appear to have given any aid.

In Cotton MSS. (Titus, B.II. f. 348) is a "Copie of Sr. Amyas Powlest's letter of comfort to Mr. Secretary upon the death of his daughter Marie," so endorsed, with the date "16th June, 1580." On examination, the letter is dated the 16th of July; and it contains no mention of Marie: who had died at Midsummer of the year before.

Sir Amyas was condoling, not on the death of Marie but of Marie's eldest sister born in the latter half of 1567.³

¹ On which date Mrs. Walsingham's first husband's brother, John Worsley, writes to Wm. More of Loseley that his "sister Walsingham" (sister-in-law) is near her confinement. Dated from the Isle of Wight. Abstract in *Hist. MSS. Comm.* VII. Report esp. Appendix, (1879) p. 620. Her first husband, Richard Worsley, Captain of the Isle of Wight died in 1565: and she married Walsingham in 1566. See Close Roll Eliz: LVII. part 20.1566; and remarks by Carl Staehlin, "Sir Francis Walsingham und seine Zeit," 1908.

² MS Harl: 6991, No. 19 (old number 9): an exceedingly long letter, mostly on political matters. Dr. Read, "Mr. Secretary Walsingham," 1925, Vol. III, p. 425, Note 3, states "This letter was probably written shortly before the birth of Walsingham's second daughter." But his second daughter Frances was born in 1568, not 1573. Had she been born in '73 she would have been only ten at the time of her wedding! Read, however, confounds Sidney's wife with the eldest daughter, born in 1567.

³ The Christian name of his eldest daughter is not found. How it was ascertained that the youngest (with whom the endorser of the letter confused her) died at Barn Elms is by searching the unpublished parish register of Barnes Church. Dr. Read in his "Mr. Secretary Walsingham," has been misled by the name of Marie on the endorsement of Cotton MSS. Titus B. II. f. 348; and Herr Staehlin, who correctly dates Frances's birth, numbers Walsingham's family only "two daughters." ("Sir Francis Walsingham und seine Zeit," p. 195.) Dr. Conyers Read assumes Frances Walsingham to have been the child who was born in 1567, and estimates that she would have been sixteen on her marriage with Sidney; whereas she was at most fifteen. As her mother's Inquisition Post Mortem (printed in Webbe's "History of Chislehurst," p. 362) is dated 23rd of September, 1602, and states that her daughter and heir (Frances) was then "of the age of thirty-four years," and her father's Inquis: P.M., dated 27 Sept., 1592, refers to her as aged twenty-four (op: cit pp. 361-362) and as the elder sister was born after the 18th of July, 1567, Frances's birth is not likely to have taken place before June or July 1568; and might have been at any date that year up to the 22nd of September. Her birthplace is unknown; the present writer could not find any reference to her in the Parish Registers of Fooths Cray, Kent, of which her father was Lord of the Manor: so presumably she was baptised in the manorial chapel.

A tablet to the memory of the Principal Secretary in old St. Paul's made no mention of any other children than Frances. According to the Latin inscription, Walsingham "married a beloved wife Ursula, of the ancient and noble race of St. Barbe, by whom he had an only daughter Frances, first married to Philip Sidney" The correct phrase would have been "only surviving daughter."¹

In June, 1579, Marie, the youngest Walsingham child, died, aged about six. Her funeral was at the old parish church of Barnes.² The following summer the eldest of the three little daughters passed out of life in her thirteenth year. On the 1st of July, 1580, Sir Francis Knollys wrote to Walsingham:

"I do hear that the sorrowful news of the death of your daughter hath absented you from the Court. But although the natural affection of sorrow in such cases must needs have a course, yet the obedience that we do owe to God's will and pleasure, as well touching ourselves as our children, ought to bridle and suppress all our affections, as you do know much better than I, if this were not your own case."

"As you do know better than I," may be a reference to Walsingham's previous loss, of Marie. "But let us kiss the rod of God," says Sir Francis Knollys, with other admonitions.³

Lady Walsingham had previously lost her two Worsley children, by an accident when those boys were experimenting with gunpowder. The deaths of two out of three of her Walsingham daughters account for the anxiety we shall find her often showing about Frances, the only survivor of her five children.

¹ "In matrimonio habuit lectissimam feminam URSULAM e stirpe S. Barborum antiquae nobilitatis; e qua unicam filiam suscepit Franciscam Philippo Sydneio primam nuptum," &c. &c. (her second marriage).

"The History of St. Paul's Cathedral in London from its Foundations untill these Times: Extracted out of Originall Charters Records Leiger Books and other Manuscripts." London, Printed by Tho. Warren. 1658." (Folio. With engraved portrait of the author William Dugdale, and five plates by Hollar, of Tombs and Monuments).

Epitaphs are not always informative: that of Walsingham makes no reference to his being a widower, or to him as Dame Ursula's second husband. Widow of Richard Worsley of Appuldurcombe, Captain of the Isle of Wight, she was eldest daughter of Henry St. Barbe, Esq^{re}, of Ashington, Somerset, by Eleanor, daughter of Edward Lewknor of Trotton, Sussex. For pedigree of St. Barbe see Hoare's *South Wiltshire* (in Hundred of Frustfield p. 10). "The Herald and Genealogist," 1862, Vol. I. p. 78, describes but does not quote a pedigree of Walsingham and St. Barbe, drawn up soon after the birth of Walsingham's grand-daughter (Nov. 1585). In 1862 it was in possession of G. F. St. Barbe, Esq^{re}.

² Unpublished Register of Burial. Barnes. "Marie daughter of Sir Francis Walsingham." June 29, 1579."

³ Extract from holograph: S.P. Dom: Eliz: CLX. No. 1. (spelling modernised). Dated "From Greys" in Oxfordshire "the first of July, 1580." Directed to "the Right Honourable Sir Francis Walsingham Knight, [pr]incipall secretary to her Matie . . . theise." Endorsed by Walsingham "July 1580. From Sir Fra: Knollys"

PICTURES ERRONEOUSLY CALLED SIR PHILIP SIDNEY'S WIFE.

Among 16th Century paintings in the collection of Lord De L'Isle and Dudley, at Penshurst Place, are two which it has long been customary to identify with Frances, wife of Sir Philip Sidney. But they represent persons contemporary with Sir Philip's mother; and not only bear no resemblance to each other but are each strikingly unlike the genuine painting of Walsingham's daughter; which will be reproduced where it chronologically belongs.

No authentic portrait of Walsingham's only surviving child painted during the few years she was Lady Sidney can be found. A small miniature at Penshurst Place, labelled "*Lady Sidney wife of Sir Philip*," is of an elderly woman whose colouring and features are totally different from the real Frances, Lady Sidney.

One of the large misidentified portraits is inscribed with the date 1572, at which time its subject (unnamed in the inscription) is specified as "aetat 22." But Frances Walsingham was in her fourth year in 1572; and by the time she reached her twenty-second year she had ceased to be Lady Sidney. Moreover as the elaborately dressed lady depicted on the panel holds in her hand a miniature of an elderly bearded man, not the least like Sir Philip,—nor resembling his widow's second husband,—it is difficult to understand how the mistake arose.¹

The other large and conspicuous portrait at Penshurst Place purporting to represent Frances, Lady Sidney, is dated 1589, and her age there given as in her fortieth year. But in the autumn of 1589 Walsingham's daughter had attained, at the utmost, twenty-one years. If the date 1589 be disregarded—as it can be, the inscription being palpably not contemporary with the painting—the picture labelled as representing Sir Philip's widow and daughter may more plausibly be identified with his mother, and his sister Ambrosia (who died of consumption). If the face of the elderly lady be compared with that of the young and beautiful Lady Mary Sidney—full length with her archlute, conspicuous in the same room, on the opposite side of the fire-place,—some faint resemblance can be detected. But whoever the mother and child may be, the lady is too old to be the widow of Sir Philip; and the child is apparently much more than four, which in November, 1589, the alleged year of the painting, was the age of "Elizabeth sole daughter of Sir Philip Sidney."

These portraits were first photographed in 1924, specially for the present writer; but picture postcards of both are now sold in Penshurst village, and are misinscribed respectively "*Lady Frances Walsingham*" and "*Countess Walsingham* and Elizabeth wife and daughter of Sir Philip Sidney."²

Spenser in his poems had much to say about "mutabilitie" and "the ruines of Time," and he lamented the passing away of ancient historic houses into alien hands. But Penshurst Place is still the home of the Sidneys. Therefore it may be hoped that Sir Philip's "dear and loving wife" (as he describes her in his Will) may cease to be misrepresented on an estate which still owes its chief fame to having once been Sir Philip Sidney's home.

¹ The miniature called "*Lady Sidney, wife of Sir Philip*" (though much later in date than the time of Sir Philip Sidney), having been named at random, and accepted uncritically, created a precedent for naming elsewhere as "*Frances Lady Sidney*" other equally unprepossessing miniatures. Likewise when in 1866 the Committee of the Historical Exhibition of Portraits catalogued the Penshurst picture "1572 aetat 22" as Sir Philip Sidney's wife, though just one antiquarian protested, the name, carelessly given, has remained. The "extraordinary handsomeness" of Walsingham's daughter, though a tradition lasting into the mid 18th century, had disappeared from memory by the 19th.

² From 1722 to 1728 there was a Countess of Walsingham, created by George I: Ermengarda Melusine von der Schulenberg; but never any Elizabethan Countess of that title; nor is "*Lady Frances Walsingham*" a correct designation.

NOTE: SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM'S LEASE OF BARN ELMS.

The history of Barn Elms goes back to the days of King Athelstan. It was subsequently part of the property in perpetuity of the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's. They in 1504 leased it for 97 years to Sir Henry Wyatt.

Early in 1580 Walsingham acquired the "residue" of the lease. But as this was to expire at Easter 1600, he appealed to the Crown so that the Manor could be secured "absolutely" to his heir.

On the 9th of February, 1579 (80) the Queen by Indenture with the Dean of St. Paul's, Dr. Alexander Nowell, had received from him and from the Chapter "their manor of Bernes with appurtenances in our County of Surrey, with all lands, tenements and hereditaments . . . in the parishes Barnes, Pottneth [Putney] and Mortlake in the aforesaid County," with the Courts Baron, Courts leet, Warrens, Waifs and Strays, and other manorial rights; the only exception being that the Dean and Chapter and their successors should have free entry to come in and cut down large timber if required; and keep the advowson of Barnes Parish Church. On this understanding the Manor was let "to Use the said Queen and our Assignes," for an annual rent of "forty-four pounds and ten pence of good and lawful English money," payable "from the feast of Easter which will be in the Year of Our Lord one thousand and six hundred, for the term and in the term of sevnty-six years then from the following and fully to be ended:" the rent to be due "at the feasts of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary and St. Michael the Archangel."

Having thus made an indenture on the 9th of February with the Dean and Chapter, Her Majesty a fortnight later testified that

"for certain causes and considerations at present specially moving us," she had "given, granted, and assigned" the lease of this Manor "clearly and absolutely to our trusty and well beloved Councillor Francis Walsingham, Knight, one of our Principal Secretaries, his Executors, Administrators and Assignees," delegating thereby to him all rights that "we have had or by right ought to have had with the aforesaid Indenture made to Us."

Walsingham and those to whom he assigns the property are "to have to hold" it for the 76 years after Easter 1600, paying the Dean and Chapter £44 and ten pence a year as previously agreed by Elizabeth Regina.¹

These facts are of interest; for a time was to come when Walsingham's daughter would be reduced to selling this lease of her childhood's home, to a moneylender (knighted by King James), in peculiar circumstances which will ultimately be revealed.³

¹ Translation of unpublished Patent Roll 1182, 21 Eliz: Pt. 8, m. 10: "D'conc Francisc Walsingham
milit . . . apud Westm: xxiii die Februarii . . . By the Queen."

References to Barnes Manor in existing printed matter are slight. John Aubrey's "Perambulation of the County of Surrey," 1718, Vol. I, and (same work) "Natural History and Antiquities of the County of Surrey," 1719, give inscriptions in Barnes Church. But although Aubrey's great-grandfather Dr. William Aubrey lived at Mortlake (*Gentleman's Magaz.* N.S. XXV. 1846) and was thus a neighbour of Sir Francis Walsingham, he does not describe Barnes Manor (Barn Elms). Lysons, "Environs of London," Vol. I, p. 395, prints extracts from "Parish accounts" kept by the Churchwardens of Lambeth:

"1585. When the Queen removed from Greenwich to Barn Elms, July 11. ... 2s. 6d.

Ditto Fulham parish accounts:

"1588. To the ringer at the Queen's return from Barn Elms ... 6d."

The "Victorian County History of Surrey," 1912, Vol. IV. p. 5,—"Barnes, Manorial descents," by Maud F. Edwards, Oxford Honours School of Modern History,—relies on the D.N.B. and other printed books instead of going to MSS. Miss Edwards alludes to but does not quote the lease by the Queen to Walsingham. This lease is also mentioned but not quoted in Dr. Conyers Read's "*Mr. Secretary Walsingham*," &c., 1925, 3 Vols. The above extracts are from the original. For general particulars about Barnes Manor (but not for the Elizabethan part which requires revision) see "*The History of Barn Elms and the Kit Kat Club, now the Ranelagh Club*," by C. J. Barrett, *Secretary to the Ranelagh Club*," 2nd ed: London. 1889.

² Ascertained from a memo in her own hand (and other particulars) to be published under date.

BARN ELMS IN WALSINGHAM'S DAY.

The only reminder of Sir Francis Walsingham at Barn Elms of to-day—the Ranelagh Club—is his portrait on the staircase.¹

Local tradition says that formerly an arm of the Thames came up close to the doors of the old Manor House; so the guests would have arrived by river, in covered barges rowed by liveried oarsmen.

There was a Dutch gardener;² and a formal garden, with fountains.³ From Walsingham's notes of what he planted we can picture in the early summer, beyond the laid-out garden, a wealth of hawthorns; and a wide expanse of blossoming orchards.

At the edge of the lake there may have been a group of cedars imported from "forraine parties."⁴

In Terceira the native cedars grew "in such great numbers" that the people used cedar wood to "make scutes, carts and other gross workes," and also to burn: "it is the wood that with them is least esteemed, by reason of the great quantity thereof," wrote Linschoten.⁴

As Walsingham was the principal correspondent of Captain Henry Richards who was sent to the Azores in 1581, and as we know on the authority of Lord Burghley's head gardener, Gerard, that other foreign trees were planted at Barn Elms towards the end of the century,—we can reasonably infer that when Walsingham's daughter in her poems symbolised her second husband as her "Cedar," the image was suggested by what she saw with her own eyes.

The ancient cedar still alive on the far side of the lake at Barn Elms may be of Azorean origin; a solitary survivor from the days when Elizabeth Regina was entertained by her Principal Secretary in his Surrey home.⁵

¹ Painted late in life: forthcoming in "*Eliz. Eng.*" Vol. VIII.

² Unpublished Register of Burials, Barnes Parish Church. January 16, 1583. "*A Dutchman gardener to Sir Frauncis Walsingham.*"

³ "With grief the fountains inly troubled are," wrote Walsingham's daughter, circa 1601. (Details under date).

⁴ "*Descrip. of the Azores*," 1591, "*Purchas his Pilgrims*," 1626. Ed: 1907. Vol. XVIII. Ib: p. 366, In the Islands, Queen Elizabeth had a small English garrison from 1581 to '83. E.E. Vol. IV, pp. 180, 294, 296.

⁵ Ellacombe ("*The Plant-Lore and Garden Craft of Shakespeare*," 3rd. ed: 1896, pp. 47-49.) alleges that "it is very certain" Shakespeare "never saw" a living cedar; and that his "mountain Cedar," "majestic Cedar," and "proud Cedar" "that keeps his leaves in spite of any storm," are all derived from tales of travellers who gazed on cedars in the far East. But the way "The Pine and Cedar" figure in "*The Tempest*" (V.1.47) does not suggest a laboured image built round an unseen exotic. This present "certainty" that never was any cedar planted in English soil until the reign of Charles II, appears to have arisen from forgetfulness that Cedars were "the commonest wood" in the Azores. Also from oblivion of an erstwhile popular work, "*Maison Rustique, or The Countrie Farme*," sm. folio, 1600, in which "The Garden of Pleasure" is described as "set about with arbors made of jesamin, rosmarie, boxe, juniper, cypris trees, savin, cedars, rose trees" &c. (p. 301).

APPENDIX.

SIR PHILIP SIDNEY'S TRANSLATION OF THE PSALMS.

Sidney's writings were not those of one at leisure to indulge to the utmost his taste for literature. It is misleading to class him primarily as a man of letters, instead of as a generous patron of learning.¹ But if his circumstances made his poetry and prose less formal than the utterances of scholars who had time to polish their compositions, this fact, which accounts for his literary incompleteness, does not diminish the human interest of his expressions. Even the recreations of such an intellect as his may be more revealing than the finished products of mediocrity.

His Songs and Sonnets were written, as he explained, "to ease a burdened heart"; and his *Arcadia* to please his sister Mary Countess of Pembroke. His metrical Psalms represent a more ambitious venture; as also does his translation, "*De la Vérité de la Religion Chrestienne*."

As with all his works—except the *Defence of the Earl of Leicester*²—no original MS of the Psalms has yet been discovered. The Penshurst volume is a copy, and "John Davies of the City of Hereford" is attested as the "handwriter hereof."³

Beautifully transcribed and decorated with golden capitals, this may possibly be the "translation of the whole Book of Psalms in English verse by Sir Philip Sidney, writt curiously and bound in crimson velvet and gilt," cited in the 17th century by Aubrey as having been in the

¹ See E.E. Vol. I. pp. xxx-xxxi.

² Russell of Aden MS, E.E. Vol. V, plate 13.

³ The known MSS. are: (1) Penshurst MS: begins with Psalm IV. Copied by "John Davies of the City of Hereford"; capitals in gold. Noted in a later hand "*This Book contains the Psalter, translated by Sir Philip Sidney and his sister the Countess of Pembroke, circa 1580.*" . . . Various additions and alterations. According to Grosart, "*The Complete Poems of Sir Philip Sidney*," 1873. Vol. II, p. 202, this MS. was not originally at Penshurst but purchased "from the Bright Sale": but Grosart was not always accurate, and a MS. note inside the vol. describes it as "at Penshurst until a few years ago."

(2) Bodleian MS. Rawl. Poet. 25. Note by S. Woodford, "The original copy is by mee. Given me by my brother Mr. John John Woodford who bought it among other broken books to putt up coffee powder . . . But from this place" (head of Psalm CXXXI) "to the end of my Copy is defective, the leaves being torn off. Ita testu Sam: Woodforde who for S^r Philip Sidney's sake, and to preserve such a remaine of him undertook the tiresome task of transcribing. 169^{4/5}." He seems to mean "by mee" to denote *beside me*. But does not say of what date or in whose hand this "original" was.

(3) Oxford, MS. Rawl: Poet 24: "*The Psalms of David . . . begun by the noble and learned gent S^r P. Sidney K^t and finished by the R. honorable the Countess of Pembroke, his Sister, and by her direction and appointment.*" Estimated in Bodleian Catalogue as circa "1620-30?"

(4) Oxford, Wadham College MS. 25, inscribed "Richard Warner 1738" and noted as "collected by the late L^d Somers."

(5) Oxford, Queen's College MS. 341. "*The Psalms of David done into English Verse By ye most noble and vertuous gent S^r Philip Sidney, Knight.*"

(6 & 7) Cambridge, Trinity College, MS. o.1.5.1. & R.3.16. which last ends on p. 303 *Finis Sir Ph. Sydney K^t.*" (B.M. Add. MS. 12048; and 12047. Which of these, if any, is the MS cited in the first (known) printed version (1823) as then in possession of Dr. Cotton at Christ Church, Oxford, the present writer cannot hazard an opinion.

library of the Earls of Pembroke at Wilton, but "now loste."¹ From the Penshurst MS,—which has not now any crimson velvet cover—the work was printed in 1823.²

Usually it is believed that only the first forty or forty-three of these Psalms were Sidney's renderings, and the rest by his sister.³

It might have been expected the book would have been issued as soon as the Countess of Pembroke had completed her part in it. The Court circle knew of its existence; including Queen Elizabeth's godson John Harington, the translator of Ariosto.⁴ Alluding to "the excellent worke" of those "Psalms in meeter," Harington prophesied they would "outlast Wilton walls": "Methinks it is pitty they are unpiblyshed, but lye still inclosed within those walls lyke prisoners, though many have made great suyt for theyr liberty."⁵

A few examples will suffice to show the manner of the paraphrases:

"How lovely is thy dwelling,
Great God to whom all greatness is belonging.
To view thy Courts, far, far from any telling,
My soul doth long, and pine with longing.
Unto the God that liveth,
The God that all life giveth,
My heart and body doth aspire,
Above delight, beyond desire."⁶

Disgust against "mischief clothed with deceit, with treason lined,"⁷ a scathing contempt for

¹ "Natural History of Wilts." (M.S. Lib: of Royal Soc:) p. 240.

² "The Psalms of David translated into divers and sundry kindes of Verse, more Rare and Excellent for the Method and Varietie than ever yet hath beene done in English. Begun by the noble and learned gent: Sir Philip Sidney, Knt; and finished by The Right Honourable The Countess of Pembroke, his sister. Now first printed from a copy of the Original Manuscript, transcribed by John Davies of Hereford, in the reign of James the First. From the Chiswick Press, by C. Whittingham for Robert Triphook. Old Bond Street, 1828." Davies was writing master to Henry Prince of Wales, and his MS. is "a beautiful specimen of the Calligraphy of the time. The first letters of every line are in gold ink, and it comprises specimens of all the hands in use, more particularly the Italian then much in fashion at Court. From the pains bestowed, it is by no means improbable that it was written for the Prince." (Publisher's preface, p. vi.) Of the metrical Psalms "the first portion was written by Sir Philip, and the latter by the Countess; and not certain Psalms, or various parts, by either of them." (Ib: p. vii.) Psalms I-III are now missing from the Penshurst MS. (the page having been torn away); but the publishers who issued the whole in 1823 may have seen some authoritative statement at the now lost beginning. In B.M. Add: MSS. 12048; and MS. 3141, Queen's College, Oxford, and also Woodford's MS. (1694-5) the first 43 Psalms only are described as by Sir Philip.

³ Fulke Greville to Sir Francis Walsingham, (undated, endorsed Nov: 1586) S.P. Dom: CXCV, No. 33, refers vaguely to "all those religious books," including "many other works as Bartas his spa— (Illegible, but presumably "Septuinaies"); "40 of the spa translated into metre &c., which require the care of his friends." This last part is not printed in Cal: S.P. Dom: Eliz: 1581-96. p. 369, where the letter ends at "done with deliberation." There is no editorial warning that only half has been copied. Greville in alluding to "40 spa" (Psalms) does not specify that they were the first forty.

⁴ "Orlando Furioso in English Heroicall Verse. By John Haringto(n) . . ." London, folio, 1591, with the author's portrait (on title page) by Thomas Cockson. For facsimile title page and remarks upon this work see Jusserand, "The English Novel in the Time of Shakespeare," pp. 76-80.

⁵ "A Treatise on Play" in "Nugae Antiquae. ed: 1779. Vol. II. p. 159.

⁶ Psalm LXXXIV. *Quam delecta.* (Spelling modernised).

⁷ Ps: LV. *Exaudi Deus.*

obese and prosperous heartlessness, and an impassioned indignation against triumphant wrong-doing, are dominant notes.

“When first I saw the wicked proudly stand,
Prevailing still in all they took in hand:
And sure no sickness dwelleth where they dwell:
Nay, so they guarded are with health and might
It seems of them Death dares not claim his right:
They seem as privileged from others pain:
The scourging plagues which on their neighbours fall
Torment them not, nay touch them not at all.
Therefore with pride, as with a gorgeous chain,
Their swelling necks encompassed they bear,
All clothed in Wrong, as if a robe it were.”¹

“. . . quite contrary to cause,
My love they do with hate repay;
With treason’s lawless spite
They answer friendship’s laws,
And good with ill and help with harm requite.”²

“I, as I can, think, speak and do the best;
They to the worst my thoughts, words, doings wrest:
All their hearts with one consent
Are to work my ruin bent,
From plotting which they give their heads no rest.”³

“Their love is only love of lies:
Their words and deeds dissenting so,
When from their lips most blessing flies,
Then deepest curse in heart doth grow.”⁴

Though these and others in “divers and sundry kindes of Verse” ertswhile were held “more Rare and Excellent for the Method and Varietie,” no rhymed rendering of the Psalms—whether Sidney’s, Bacon’s, or Francis Davison’s,—is so satisfactory as the prose to which we are accustomed in its blend of majestic sonority and inspired simplicity. Moreover a creative mind is always happier in original work than in translations.

In Sloane MS. 1303, is “*The Countesse of Pembroke’s Passion*,” first printed in 1862 as “*A Poem on Our Saviour’s Passion. By Mary Sidney, Countess of Pembroke. From an Unpublished MS. in the British Museum. With a Preface by the Editor. London. John Wilson . . . MDCXXXLXII.*” (Preface signed R.G.B.) This is from a volume inscribed “*Sum liber Johannis Botterelli Anno Domini 1600, Novembris 27*”: containing transcripts of verses, all in the same hand. Though the Countess of Pembroke’s poem is scorned by Lodge in his “*Portraits of Illustrious Persons*,” her description of Christ, who “healed the sick, gave sight unto the blinde,” he who was “fayrer than the sunne,” and

“*Who dyed for them that highlye did offende him,
And lives for them that cannot comprehend him,*”

shows no signs of the “chaos” Lodge’s 18th century mind found in it. Rather has it something of the same vivid feeling as Spenser’s famous Easter sonnet. The 110 stanzas are in Spenserian metre, and the influence of Spenser appears in the spirit as well as the matter and manner of Lady Pembroke’s poem.

¹ Ps: LXXIII. Spelling modernised. ² PS: CIX. *Deus laudem.*

³ Ps: LVI. (*Miserere mei Deus,*) beginning “Fountain of pity now with pity flow.”

⁴ Ps: LXII. *Nonne Deo.*

"CAMBRIA, NOW CALLED WALES."

In the spring of 1584 was issued—dedicated to Sir Philip Sidney—"The History of Cambria, now called Wales: a part of the most famous Yland of Brytaine, written in Brytish language above two hundredth years past: translated into English by H. LLoyd Gentleman: corrected, augmented and continued out of Records and best approoved Authors, by David Powel Doctor of Divinitie."¹

This gives a glowing account of ancient Celtic Wales, attributes to Lord Burghley's ancestors a marvellous pedigree, and ascribes to a Welshman in the 12th century, Madoc ap Owen Gwyneth, the discovery of America.

Many others "have set out the praise and commendation" of Sir Philip's "noble gifts." No need to repeat what has so often been said. All such gifts should be exercised for "the setting forth of the glorie of God, and the benefit of your countrie."

Meditating upon the brevity of mortal life, and how soon it might please the Almighty to call Sidney to account,—and that the man who possesses ten talents must be more severely judged "than he which hath but one,"—Powel reiterates,

"Have alwaies before your eies the glorie of God, never forget the same in anie thing you doo: *seeks the weale publike of your countrie, labour to do it good . . . while you have time so to do;* for you have but a while a remaine here; awaie you must go after the common course of nature. Let the remembrance of your account when stewardships is ended be never out of your mind."

How the Joint Master of the Ordnance, who had been Ambassador to the Emperor, relished these needless admonitions, we may wonder; but his great affection for his father and father-in-law would have prevented him resenting the "two examples" held up to him: first Sir Henry Sidney,

"who alwaies hath been and yet is more inclined and bent to doo good to his countrie than to benefit and inrich himselfe, as Wales and Ireland besides his owne can bear witnesse."

"The other is your honourable father-in-law, Sir Francis Walsingham, hir Majesties chiefe Secretaire, a man that for his zeale of God's glorie, and love towards them that feare God unfainedlie, is well-known to the world."

"Follow their steps with the remembrance of that noble house out of the which you are descended by your honourable mother, and then you cannot doo amisse."

"Labour by the example of your father to discover and bring to light the acts of the famous men of elder times, who with conference of the estate and Government of all ages will bring you to the perfect experience of those things that you have learned out of Aristotle, Plato and Cicero."

As it was Sidney's father, "with his great experience and labour," who "having preserved and gotten to his hands the histories of Wales and Ireland (which countries for manie yeares with great love and commendation he governed), committed unto me this of Wales to be set forth in print, with direction to proceed therein and necessarie books for the doing thereof, . . ." Powel felt it appropriate to present the result "to the sonne and heire of him that was the procurer and bringer of it to light."²

¹ "Imprinted at London by Rafe Newberrie and Henry Denham. 1584." Small 4to. Blackletter Cambridge University Library (Syn. 7. 58. 86.).

² "The Epistle Dedicatore." Dated and signed "From my Lodging in London the 25 of March 1584. Your worship's readie at commandement, David Powel." This work long remained popular, and was reissued so late as William III's day: "The History of Wales, comprehending the Lives and Succession of the Princes of Wales, from Cadwalader the last King, to Lewelyn the last Prince of British Blood, with a Short Account of the Affairs of Wales under the Kings of England, written originally in British by Caradac, published in English by Dr. Powell, now newly augmented and improved by W. Wynne." Printed by M. Clark; sold by R. Clavell, 1697.

"THE KEY AND LOCK": DOVER HARBOUR, 1583-86.

It had been Henry VIII who "out of his own coffers" provided money for making Dover Haven, instead of overtaxing the town which was then of "poor estate." And "ancient townsmen" in Queen Elizabeth's day asserted King Henry to have spent £50,000 on the defence of Dover. But after his death the works lapsed into "lamentable ruin and decaie"; and the loss of Calais in Queen Mary's time wrought "desolation" for Dover, "lamentable to behold. For of a brave, rich, and populous towne it presentlie became a poor and desolat village, retaining onlie the name and liberties of the famous port . . ." But Queen Elizabeth granted exemption from Customs duties on wheat, barley, and malt, towards repairing of the Harbour; and in the 24th year of her reign (1583), a Commission was formed, consisting of the Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports (Lord Cobham), Sir Thomas Scott of Scot's-Hall, Thomas Digges, and others "of great wisdome and judgment, . . . marvellous expert in affaires and matters of the sea . . ." Their reports were submitted to Lord Burghley and Sir Francis Walsingham; and, under Sir Thomas Scott's personal superintendence, the works were renewed. That year, although there was an epidemic of the plague in other parts of England, the Dover workmen escaped it. They took pride in what they were achieving; and during three years strenuous labours (1583-86) "in all this time and among all these people there was never anie tumult, fraie, nor falling out." At eleven a.m., a flag was hoisted, and they were then free for two hours; after which they worked until six p.m. Their custom was, when the flag appeared, to sing in chorus a "rustical note," of verses beginning "O Harrie hold up thy hat, tis eleven o'clock." When Sir Thomas Scott one day, while with them on the walls, was taken ill, and lay at death's door, the workmen "made such moan for his sicknesse" that they "translated their barbarous musicke into a sorrowful song, and instead of calling to Harrie for their diner they called to God for the health and retурне of their best friend Sir Thomas Scott." Their prayers were answered, and after six weeks he was amongst them again.

As Sir Francis Walsingham "gave continual life" to the work "by sending monie" (for when the Queen objected to the "charges" he supplied them out of his own purse rather than delay the payments), the building of Dover Haven was long remembered as an example of love of country, and united zeal for defence of the realm.¹

¹ Anno Dom. 1586. Holinshed (Continuation) IV. 866. For list of references to Scott and Dover Harbour, from S.P.D. Eliz: 1579-1586, see pp. 199-202 of "Memorials of the family of Scott of Scot's-Hall in the County of Kent. With an Appendix of Illustrative Documents. By James Renat Scott, F.S.A.", London: "Printed for Private Circulation and for subscribers only," 1876. Sir Thomas Scott was son and heir of Sir Reginald Scott, uncle to Reginald Scott, who dared to protest against the trials for Witchcraft. (See E.E. Vol. II, p. 21, n.2). Sir Thomas was Sheriff of Kent, 1576, and Knight of the Shire in the Parliaments of 13th and 28th Eliz. When he died aged 59 (in 1594), "his men and tenants wailed the day." His house had been "a very hospitall and refuge for the needie," and he was loved and admired by all ranks in Kent. (But his virtues did not prevent the Puritans destroying his tomb when they came into power in Oliver Cromwell's time).

PART III.

“*Ambitious, Politic, and Valiant.*”

CHAPTER I

“IF YOUR MAJESTY HAD ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND.”

SECTION 4

“*To prevent the Conspiracies of
our Enemies.*”

(*Events of 1584 in France, the Netherlands, and England.*)

“. . . the object in view is to subdue England, and liberate the Queen of Scotland, both on her own account and that she may be an instrument for the permanent submission of England.”

J. B. de Tassis to King Philip II., 18th April, 1584. Paris Arch. K. 1563.II.
Cal: S.P.S., Vol. III, p. 521.

“. . . if I should only consider . . . my quietness and commodity, then truly mine own nature and disposition doth prefer peace before all things. But when I consider whereto we were born, . . . I do then think how this most happy government might with good providence prevent the conspiracies of our enemies.”

John Hawkins to his “syngular good lord the lord burghley lo. Heigh tresorer of Ingland.” 20th July, 1584. Docketed “meanes to offend ye k. of Spayne.”
Unpublished Lansdowne MS. f. 23, and ff. 20-22.

“The King of Spain hath shown his manifest intention many ways to attempt violence to the Queen’s majesty and her true and obedient people. . . . There is no hope of alteration of his hatred, . . . but rather an increase, by reason of the increase of his wordly success in gaining Portugal and the East Indies.”

Lord Burghley’s “Questions touching the Low Countries,” &c., October, 1584.
Hatfield MSS. Cal: vol. III, pp. 67-69.

WILLIAM OF NASSAU, PRINCE OF ORANGE.

Called "The Silent."

From a portrait by Adrian Key, now at the Mauritshuis.

This picture is by the same artist who vividly depicted the Prince's former friend and bitter adversary, Don Fernando, Duke of Alba: for which portrait see "Elizabethan England," Vol. II, plate 2.

Son of Count William of Nassau and of Countess Juliana of Stolberg, William the Silent inherited the Principality of Orange (near Avignon) in 1554 on the death of his first cousin René of Nassau-Châlon, Prince of Orange: who had succeeded in 1530 as the heir of his maternal uncle, Philibert of Châlon.

William the Silent (through his fourth wife, Louise de Coligny) is ancestor not only of the present Queen of Holland but of Kaiser Wilhelm II of Germany and of the late King Manuel of Portugal.



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FTER the activities of Don Bernardino de Mendoza were transferred from London to Paris, the relations of England and France remained affable on the surface; but seeds of distrust, sown by Mendoza, had not fallen on barren ground. Nothing could exceed the outward urbanity of the French Ambassador, Mauvissière de Castelnau, to Principal Secretary Walsingham; but when writing to King Henry III, Castelnau stated that neither did the English believe his word nor he theirs. The additional fortification of the coast, he complained, was carried on so secretly that he could not discover what was being done, though he employed spies for that sole purpose. He was certain that a considerable amount of Ordnance had been moved surreptitiously from London to the seaports; but he could not learn when or where. Actually that process had begun the previous August.¹

Shortly after Mendoza's departure, Burghley had set to work upon a “*Memoriall*” of “*sundery thynges to be executed within the realme to withstand perills.*” This was unjustly dismissed in 1598 by Corbett with the one word “faulty”,² and has remained unpublished until now.³

While Mendoza at the French Court was toiling to make trouble for

¹ Hatfield MSS. Cal: III. (128) p. 81. The Queen's defenders had not waited until 1584. While Mendoza was still in England, the Artillery had been overhauled. Among unpublished MSS in the Muniment Room at Hatfield House to-day, the Librarian, the Rev. W. Stanhope-Lovell, found in 1929 for the present writer, “*Orders set down for the establishment and direction of the office of the Ordynnance by the Commissioners appointed by commission of 20th August, 24 Eliz.*” (MS. 239.22). The 5th folio is annotated “*VII Octobris, 1583.* By the officers,” and headed again as above.

² “*Drake and the Tudor Navy,*” Vol. II. p. 8.

³ E.E., ante, App: pp. 43-45.

England, all chance of Queen Elizabeth's French marriage was ended for ever by the sudden death of the Duke of Anjou. Castelnau reported to King Henry that the English were pleased "in one way; but not in another." They had believed that the Duke would continue the war against Spain, and only for this they regretted him.

On the 21st of June, *stilo antiquo*, Sir Edward Stafford from Paris wrote to Sir Francis Walsingham as to "the burial of Monsieur":¹

"Of the manner of bringing his body from Château Thierry, of the great ceremony and magnificency of his effigies lying in an Abbey at St. Jaques suburbs, and the great honour that was there done to it Friday and Saturday, . . . by all the world, especially by the Princes and Princesses of France; of the stately coming thither of the King and Queen, accompanied with all his Gentlemen, Noblemen, Knights of the Order, Princes and Princesses, with the Cardinals and Bishops upon Sunday, . . . I will leave writing at large to you, hoping to send it . . . in print . . . As also of the removing of his body to his burial . . . Monday from St Jaques to Nostre Dame, Tuesday from Nostre Dame to St Denis, and Wednesday the 27th buried there. All which was done with the greatest magnificence, state and honour, that ever any Brother of France had . . . It is esteemed that it hath cost the King, for the obsequies from the day of his death until now above 150,000 crowns.² For my part I think the very black only cost near 100,000 crown, so great quantity was there of it, and all that belonged to the King and Monsieur had it."

The Queen Mother is "on her bed sick of the gout," and "by everybody's judgment that seeth her," more troubled by "her son's death than ever she was with anything . . ."

Owing to the Duke of Anjou's position as Queen Elizabeth's suitor, Stafford dare not write direct to Her Majesty "for fear of ministering cause of grief"; but to Walsingham he tells of the audience he had of the King, before the funeral, "to condole with him."

"I did all I could to represent unto him what grief I knew it would be to her Majesty . . . The King accepted marvellously well of it, and shewed to believe it, and withal, in recompense of the love her Majesty bare to his Brother, commanded me to assure her . . . that never would he be forgetful of it whilst he lived: and withall desired me to intreat her Majesty to bestow her love that was parted betwixt his brother and him on him alone . . ." And she should find that "he could love and honour and reverence her for the memory of his brother that was dead . . ."

This at least denoted an intention not to quarrel with England. Stafford had visited His Majesty by special invitation: for the King had sent word "the day before" that

"as I was ambassador from the Princess that he was sure loved his brother most . . . so he was desirous to see me first afore any other . . ."

Though the Nuncio and several Ambassadors were there in the early morning, and Stafford not till eleven as appointed, "the King would see none . . . afore me."

"The Queen Regent and Queen Mother were with the King, and all received

¹ "Which was the 27th of June" new system: 17th O.S. (1584).

² Said to be equivalent to about 45,000 English pounds sterling of that date.

Stafford affably: he being "brought in and brought out with all ceremonies, which were the greatest, and the Court the stateliest and best in order, and the chamber furnished with the greatest number of Men of Quality all in black, . . ." the King "standing upon a high place with steps, in his Cabinet, in the which was no creature but Cardinals, Princes, and Knights of the St. Esprit: which carried the greatest state that I ever saw . . . in France . . ."

That the King heard Stafford's condolences before he talked with the Papal Nuncio, caused the Nuncio to "*fret and chafe marvellously*," whereat, says Stafford, "*I marvelled not . . .*"

The Queen Mother "was and is still in her bed"; but she made complimentary speeches to the English Ambassador. The Spanish Ambassador had no audience until the following Sunday, when he declared his master would be excessively sorrowful at the news of Monsieur's death. But, after employing "the greatest eloquence" to extol him, this envoy added that King Philip admired him as "a Prince of that courage that having been enterprised against him he thought it more honour to have to do with him than [with] a multitude of beastly people whom he hated for their baseness of mind"; whereas he had "loved" Monsieur for his "courage" and the "greatness of his mind" for "taking in hand an enterprise against him that no Prince in Christendom else would attempt."

Stafford did not add a reminder how very much more had been attempted against King Philip both by the Prince of Orange and by King Antonio: but after relating how "*for a Spanish Braverie*" King Henry gave "*a French Bragge*" in return, he explained that all the Spanish compliments were only designed to lead up to a demand that King Henry should give them back Cambray.¹

The English Ambassador could not with any certainty forecast the policy of France; but he came to the conclusion that England had suffered no great loss by the death of "Monsieur." He therefore wrote to Queen Elizabeth, telling her he feared that the Duke's "good speeches" had been intended to deceive: "*I am sorry that in discharge of my duty to your Majesty I must write (thus), but I am the more sorry that without being a knave to your Majesty I must and can do no otherwise.*"²

Of Stafford's devotion to Queen Elizabeth there need be no doubt; and in reply to modern English allegations that he was a "traitor," repeated in 1925 by an American writer, let us notice the warning of King Philip: "*The person who suggested to you that the English Ambassador there may be bought with money, would have to be very trustworthy indeed for us to believe him.*" Even if Stafford could be brought to accept a pension, he would only be "*selling you false news for*

¹ Hatfield MSS. Cal: Vol. III. No. 90. From Copy (or draft) by Sir E. Stafford. 4 pp. (Orig: with extra parag: in S.P. France. Vol. LXXX.) Murdin, *State Papers*, in extenso, pp. 405-409.

² Frag: holog: 4 pp. Hatfield MSS. No. 85. Cal: Vol. III. pp. 33-35.

your money, and boasting in England of his having done so; which would be worse than the loss of the money." Nevertheless the attempt may be made to win him.¹

After the death of "Monsieur," the scene of diplomatic interest reverts to the Low Countries, with which English sympathy had often been shown, especially by the translation of the Prince of Orange's "*Declaration*" and his "*Justification*"² in 1568; and in 1581 his "*Apologia*": in which last he brought such audacious charges against King Philip in particular and the Spaniards in general that the ultimate price of his daring was to be death at the hands of an assassin. This third vindication of his policy, was evoked by the "*Bannum et Edictum*" issued on March the 15th, 1580 (1) by *Philippus Dei Gratia Rex*: whose long list of titles—including the Portugese Sovereignty of "Asia and Africa,"—served to emphasise the boldness of the Northern Netherlanders, in daring to defy the proudest and richest monarch in Christendom.³

The "*Apologia Illustrissimi Principis Willielmi*" was sent to every Court in Europe. Swiftly translated into many tongues (for the unlearned) this was more than an explanation of Prince William's own actions. Any such explanation necessitated a denunciation of his magnificent adversary, whose "*Bannum*" he reprinted in full, to make his own reply the more intelligible.

Inasmuch as a Monarch can have no privacy, the allegations against Philip II were not only political but personal. The oppressor we see in the "*Legend of Ulenspiegel*" is in effect the same as the Sovereign denounced by William of Nassau as ruthless not only to his Dutch subjects but ungrateful to his nearest kin.

William sealed his own doom by asserting in print to all the world that the

¹ To De Tassis. Paris Arch: K. 1488.20. Cal: S.P. Spanish, p. 520. The editor, Martin Hume, appears to have confused a spy called "Julio" in Stafford's house with Stafford himself: and without examining Stafford's own correspondence Hume believed this Ambassador to have been a tool of Spain. Stafford's exceedingly spirited conduct at the time of the Duke of Guise's temporary mastery of Paris seems to have escaped the notice of Hume. Well described in Macdowell's "*Henry of Guise and other Portraits*," 1898, pp. 146-148. Although many of Stafford's most interesting letters have been in print since 1759, *State Papers*, ed: Murdin, they are little used.

² II. 1. 1. Ante, E.E. Vol. II, pp. 3, 4. (Title pages reproduced).

³ "Philippus Rex Castiliae, Leonis, Arragonis, Navarre, Neapolis, Siciliae, Maillorquae, Sardiniae, Insularum, Indicarum et terrae firmae, Maris Oceani; Archiducis Austriae; Ducis Burgundiae, Lotharingiae, Brabantiae, Limburgi, Luxemburgi, Gueldriae, et Mediolani: Comitis Habsburgi, Flandriae, Arthesiae, Burgundiae Palatinatus, et Hannoniae Hollandiae, Zelandiae, Namurci et Zutphani; Principis Zwaiaie; Marchionis Sacri Imperij; Domini Friesiae Salinarum, Mechliniae; civitatis, urbium, et regionum Ultraiectinorum, Ultraissalunarum, etc. Groeningae; et Dominatoris in Asia et in Africa." (Edict printed pp. 121-138). Op: cit: "*Apologia Illustrissimi Principis Willielmi Dei Gratia Principis Avraiae, Comitis Nassauiae, Cathorum, Dietzij, Viandae; Burgrauij Antuerpiae; Vicecomitis Bisontij; Baronis Bredae, Dietzij, Grimberghae, Arlei, Nozereij, etc. Domini Castrobelini etc. Propresidis generalis per universum Belgium, Praesidis Brabantiae, Hollandiae, Zelandiae, Ultraiecti, Friesiorum, etc. Admirallij. etc.*

Ad Proscriptionem ab Hispaniarum rege in eum promulgatam, cui adjuncta est Responsio ad quasdam literas eidem Principi falso a Parmensi adscriptas. Ad ordines generales." (Woodcut of an angel, inscribed "SCRVTAMINI"). "Apud Carolum Sylvium, Typographum Ordinum Hollandiae. MDLXXXI." With preliminary matter: "*Literae Principis Avraici ad Regem ac Dynastas nominis Christiani*" dated "*Delphis Hollandiae pridie nonas Februario, Anno salutis MDLXXXI*"; etc. etc. (and Arms of the Prince of Orange surrounded by collar of the Golden Fleece).

“Spanish tyrant” had slain Queen Isabel, and would if he could, as remorselessly destroy any who (with or without cause) incurred his anger. Actually Isabel of Valois was the best-loved of Philip’s wives: but the story that he had murdered her out of jealousy was circulated assiduously by his foes.

The recovery of Prince William in 1582 from the severe wounds inflicted by an assassin, had made him seem to bear a charmed life; and had endeared him more than ever to his own people. When in the summer of 1584 a “gentleman of Burgundy, of the age of twenty-five years,” came to him with letters of introduction from France, and offered to forge the Prince of Parma’s hand, and trick the Spaniards by using Parma’s name to circumvent Parma’s labours, there was no suspicion that this offer of aid cloaked deadly hatred. As to the stratagem suggested, William of Orange replied he “*would not so deal.*” Yet the man was allowed to stay at Delft.

It is easy now to say that the Prince ought at once to have dismissed a stranger whose offers of service included suggestions of forgery. But the intending assassin was an accomplished dissimulator, affecting Protestant piety, and zeal in reading the Scriptures.¹

With grim irony, this Burgundian, on pretext of soon intending a journey, and therefore requiring a small pistol, bought from one of the Prince’s own Guards the “dagge” with which he planned to give what he believed would be an irreparable blow to the United Provinces.

It was as the Prince of Orange was going upstairs to his Privy Chamber, with two guests, an Italian and an Englishman, he leading the way,—“not thinking of any such thing” as danger to himself in his own palace,—that the murderer took him by surprise and shot him with three bullets. The wounds were mortal.

“Lord have mercy upon me, and remember thy little flock!” were his last words.²

¹ Whereas in “*The True Report*” etc. Antwerp, 1584 (Lord Somers’s *Tracts*, Vol. I.) the Prince of Parma is named as the personage whose hand the assassin offered to forge, in “*The Triumphs of Nassau*” (2nd ed: 1620, p. 16) the story is not of forgery but of “divers blanks signed by Count Mansfeldt,” which the Prince is depicted as accepting. Also “Balthasar Gerard” is said to have disguised himself under the alias of “Francis Guyon of Besanon, sonne to Peter Guyon of Lyons who had been put to death for his religion”; and his age is given as “seven and twentie yeares.” The version published in 1584 is here quoted as representing what was circulated at the time in England. The account in “*The Triumphs of Nassau*” differs in minor details.

² As given in “*A True Report*” &c. 1584.

In “*The Triumphs of Nassau*,” p. 17, “I am sore wounded, my God, take pitie on my soule and on this poore people.”

In “*La Grande Chronique*” (Jean Francois Petit) 1601, Livre XIII, p. 493), the Prince’s last words are “Mon Dieu, aye pitie de mon Ame, je suis fort blesse. Mon Dieu aye pitie de mon Ame et de ce pauvre Peuple . . . Et come la Comtesse de Swartsebourg sa Soeur luy demanda en Alleman s’il ne recommandoit point son Ame a Iesus Christ nostre sauveur, il respondit en mesme langue ‘ouy’ sans jamais plus parler . . . tel a esté la fin du plus prudent, constant et vertueux Prince de nostre temps.”

"Grievous was the cry of the people" who came thronging "to the Prince's gate"; and as the news spread "every household was filled with sorrow,"¹ for "the most wise, constant, magnanimous, patient and excellent Prince." Yet tragic as was his fate, it was "*a goodlie end, seeing he died for his countrie, a thing all godlie wise men desire . . .*"²

" . . . His second sonne Maurice of Nassau, Prince of Orange, did from that time (though he were not above seventeen or eighteen yeares old) resolve to follow his father's steps, and to serve his countrie. And the better to incite him thereto, he invented an Embleme, of a Tree cut down to the root from which issued tender young plantes . . . and underneath this motto in Latine, *Tandem fit surculus arbor*, viz. In time the plant becomes a Tree," to show that "they had not yet won all by his Father's death, represented by the cut Tree."³

Among the prolonged and bitter lamentations, the greatest grief was that of the murdered Prince's widow, Louise de Coligny-Chastillon, daughter of the Grand Admiral of France and widow of the Téligny, both slain twelve years earlier on the Saint Bartholomew Night.⁴

The news reached England on the 6th, old style, that "on the 10th, new style, at two o'clock after dinner" the Prince of Orange was murdered. "The Estates of Holland and Zealand," ordered Joachim Ortell "at once to advertise her Majesty and her Council . . ."⁵

These tidings spread general grief and consternation among all English Protestants. There had been speculation previously as to whether the Queen would

¹ "True Report," 1584.

² "The Triumphs of Nassau," p. 18.

³ "The Triumphs of Nassau: or a description and representation of all the victories both by Land and Sea, granted by God to the noble High and mightie Lords the Estates generall of the United Netherlands Provinces Under the conduct and command of his Excellencie, Prince Maurice of Nassau. Translated out of French by W. Shute genr. London . . . Anon Dom. 1620." p. 18 (2nd ed.) Prince Maurice's mother was Prince William's second wife, Anne, daughter of the Elector Maurice, Duke of Saxony.

⁴ Prince William was 51 at the time of his death. Born 14 April 1533. He married

(1) Only daughter and heiress of Maximilian of Egmont, Count of Buren etc. by whom he had Philip of Nassau, Count of Buren, subsequently Prince of Orange, and one daughter Marie, wife of Philip Count Hohenlohe ("Hollock").

(2) Anne, only daughter of the Elector Maurice, Duke of Saxony, by whom he had Count Maurice of Nassau, born at Dillenbourg (Nassau) 13 November 1567; and 2 daughters, Anne, and Emilia, the second of whom married (in 1597) Emmanuel, eldest son of Antonio, the elected King of Portugal.

(3) Charlotte of Bourbon, daughter of the Duke of Monpensier, by whom he had 6 daughters, the Ladies Juliana, Elizabeth, Catherine Belgica, Flandrina, Charlotte Brabantina, and Emilia Secunda.

(4) Louise de Coligny Chastillon, by whom he had Henry Frederick, born at Delft. "Triumphs of Nassau," 2nd ed: 1620. pp. 15-16.

⁵ S.P. Holland and Flanders, XXII. 29. Cal: S.P.F. p. 293. Also Walsingham to Stafford. S.P. France, XII. 7. (Ib: p. 594) Also letter from George Griffin from Middelburgh, 2 July. (S.P. Holland and Flanders, XXII. 24. Ib. p. 580).

“VERY ROYALLY BURIED”

continue her aid to the Northern Provinces. Now there remained no doubt but that she must. The question was, to what extent? And how soon?¹

Twenty-five thousand crowns was to have been the murderer's reward. But he did not live to claim it. Though he evaded some of the Guard, “the second watch Guard” captured him outside.

He alleged himself to have acted under orders of the Prince of Parma.²

Soldiers do not often descend to such methods. Yet the Prince's letters to the Municipalities of Antwerp, Brussels and the other cities under his rule, show no horror at the crime, but hope “God” will use the death of the Prince of Orange as a means to restore the country to its “ancient brightness and felicity.” His Excellency's rendering of the career of his murdered adversary is that “covetousness and ambition” had been his ruling passions.³ This was the same accusation that the Prince of Orange had repudiated in 1568.⁴

Reiterating to the Burgomasters an assurance of King Philip's “natural clemency,” Alexander of Parma declared that His Majesty in his “royal courtesy and gentleness” relied on their zeal in the present crisis. To read his letters we might suppose Prince William had died peacefully in bed, in order that destiny might remove an “intolerable yoke” which the House of Orange endeavoured to impose upon an unwilling people. The Lieutenant-Governor used the language of a diplomatist rather than of a soldier. In his position he was expected to be both.

After the earlier attempt to assassinate William of Orange, he had, as we have seen, expressed a wish that even though his officers judged the offenders worthy of death, it should be speedy and without torture: and this in spite of the torments he was himself suffering from his wound. But in 1584 the indignation of the people was such that the sentence included four successive days of mutilation, and other horrible punishments. The murderer gloried in his deed; and although instead of winning 25,000 crowns as the price of blood, the most hideous tortures were inflicted upon him, he declared himself satisfied to have done his appointed work. As he had no pity for the widow and children of that Prince to whom he had feigned devotion deliberately to deceive and entrap him, and as he morally felt no shame over his own treacherous methods, so did he appear physically callous under the dreadful form of retribution he incurred.⁵

“Upon the 16th day of July” the body of the Prince of Orange was “very royally buried” in “the new Church of Delft . . . First the Burguers of Delft, armed, went before; next them the trumpets; and after them followed eight horse

¹ Among Lord Burghley's books now at Hatfield (Shelf B.5. No. 949.203 + 3431.) is “*Bref recueil de l'Assassinat commis en la personne du tres illustre Prince Monseigneur le Prince d'Orange, Conte de Nassau, Marquis de la Vere, &c. par Jauregui Espagnol. Suivent les copies des papiers trouvez sur l'assassinateur: Les Depositions des Criminels: Lettres d'Anastro et du Prince de Parme. A Anvers. Christophe Plantin. MDLXXXII.*”

² Op: cit, ante. ³ Lord Somers's *Tracts*, Vol. I. ⁴ E.E. II. 1. 1. Vol. II. pp. 10-11.

⁵ Described in Somers's *Tracts*, Vol. I. (1809), pp. 405-406.

trapped with black down to the ground. Behind everie horse went a Gentleman bearing a banner representing the Armes of the sayd Lord Princes Signories, with Scutcheons on every horse." The banners were carried by noblemen "clad in black with long Clokes down to the foot."¹

The Prince's helmet, sword, and coat armour were borne by noblemen; next came a led horse "trapped with black velvet": and yet more nobles, carrying respectively the Sword of State and the "Coronet of Gold" of the House of Orange.

Twelve mourners of lesser rank carried the bier; the Heralds coming next. Young Maurice of Nassau walked as chief mourner, with the dispossessed Elector of Cologne on his right, and on his left, Count Philip Hohenlohe (who married Maurice's half-sister.) The Counsellors, Magistrates, Burgomasters, and other officials followed; with "multitudes of people."

"These funerals were solemnised with incredible sorrow There was nothing seen and heard that day over the whole citie but sighs, teares, and lamentations for the death of this good and vertuous Prince, the people beseeching God to preserve and defend these countries from the greater dangers and difficulties which by this Prince's death seemed to threaten them."²

The Middleburgh Report, relating details of the murder, adds that already since the funeral "the enemy hath built a fort upon the bank between Antwerp and Lullo There is not as yet any Governor chosen" The closing words are a prayer for Heaven's mercy upon a country so sorely distressed.

On the other side the official euphemism was that it had "pleased God" to end the days of the Prince of Orange who had been the main disturber of the peace of the Netherlands.⁴

The people bereaved of their "good Prince" were bewildered for lack of the "wisdom, force and great care" with which he had spent himself to defend their rights, restore their liberties, and deliver them from subjection" after they had been "many years yoked in by their enemies." "Now having lost him who was the principal prop of the Low Countries" they dreaded "utter overthrowe, ruin and destruction" of their cause; for the Prince's eldest son was still a prisoner in Spain, and his second son Count Maurice was so young that many doubted if he would be strong enough to carry his father's burden.

These were the circumstances which prompted the renewed offer of Sovereignty of the Netherlands by the Northern Provinces to Queen Elizabeth. It seemed a great opportunity for her to expand her power and influence. But there

¹ "Triumphs of Nassau," p. 23, list given of the Lords: Egmont, Luden, Bax, and many others.

² Op: cit: pp. 23-24. ³ "True Report"

⁴ Jasper of Annastro to the Noble Lords etc. Lord Sömers's *Tracts*, Vol. I. pp. 406-407.

were solid reasons for her refusal. To shoulder the sovereignty of a foreign country which was in such dire straits, meant excessive expenditure of men and money.

Had the situation been reversed, we need not doubt that King Philip would have grasped such a chance with both hands. But Queen Elizabeth would not commit herself to any such hazardous and costly undertaking. "*The cares and troubles of a crown*," she subsequently remarked, "*I cannot more fitly resemble than to the drugs of a learned physician, perfumed with some aromatical savour.*"¹

If Philip II could master the Netherlands, he would the more easily be able to proceed to the attempted annexation of England. Hence Queen Elizabeth's need to succour the United Provinces for her own sake.

On the 27th of July 1584 Sir Edward Stafford from Paris wrote to Sir Francis Walsingham: "*Dom Antonio sent to speak with me . . . in great haste; and declaring the affection he had to her Majesty,*" he gave information of a "*verie certen*" warning he had received "*that the same practise that hath been executed upon the Prince of Orange*" was intended to be repeated "*uppon her Majestye*"; and this within the next two months. Therefore her Majesty should "*take good heed, and have care of herself more than ordinary; . . . she is a chief mark they shoot at;*" and seeing there had been conspirators able "*to enchant a man and to encourage one to kill the Prince of Orange in the midst of Holland, and that there was a knave found desperate enough to do it,*" her subjects should not be too confident that such a thing would be impossible in England.

"Dom Antonio made a motion to me move her Majesty that now upon the Prince of Orange's death as it is a necessary thing for them to have a Governor and Head," and one who would be "*at Her Majesty's devotion,*" the Queen might "*be the means to work it for him; she should be assured nobody should be more faithfully had in devotion to her than he. . . . I beseech you that I may receive some answer to answer him.*"

Describing him as "*almost next doore to starving in effect,*" Stafford expresses hearty compassion for his pitiful plight.²

Though the Queen did not recommend him as Governor for the United Provinces,—(in 1585-6 she was even to resent the conferring of that dignity upon her own Lieutenant-General,)—she by no means abandoned the Portingale cause; or rather, Burghley, Leicester, Drake and Hawkins did not abandon it.

Let us now read the contents of a sealed package addressed on the outer cover "*To the right honourable my syngular good lord the lord burghley lo. heigh tresorer of Ingland gyve this in Hast,*" endorsed by Lord Burghley "*20 Julij 1584 from Jh. Hawkins Tresor[er] of y^e admyralte;*" and in another hand "*Meanes to offend ye k. of Spayne.*"³

¹ Lord Somers's "*Tracts*," Vol. I. (particulars ensue under date.)

² *State Papers*, ed: Murdin, in extenso, pp. 412-415, from copy. Also Hatfield MSS. Cal: Vol. III. No. 93, abbreviated, pp. 45-46. (Orig: State Papers France, Vol. LXXX).

³ Unpublished Lansdowne MSS. f.23^b (cover), and ff. 20-22. (Burghley Papers, 1584-5). While claiming for Hawkins a style superior to other men of action, the writer of "*Sir John Hawkins The Time and the Man*," Oxford, 1927, reduces this letter by him to an epitome which deprives it of its individuality. It is now first given verbatim.

"My bounden duty in right humble manner remembered unto Your good Lordship.

"I have briefly considered upon a substantial course, and the material reasons that by mine own experience I know (with God's assistance) will strongly annoy and offend the King of Spain, the mortal enemy of our religion and [of] the present government of the realm of England.

"And surely, my very good Lord, *if I should only consider and look for mine own life, my quietness and commodity, then truly mine own nature and disposition doth prefer peace before all things.*

"But when I consider whereto we are born, not for ourselves but for the defence of the Church of God, our Prince and our country, I do then think how this most happy government might with good providence prevent the conspiracies of our enemies.

"I do nothing at all doubt of our ability in wealth, for that I am persuaded that the substance of this Realm is trebled in value since her Majesty's reign; God be glorified for it.

"Neither do I think there wanteth provisions carefully provided, of shipping, ordnance, powder, armour and munition: so as our people were exercised by some means in the course of wars.

"For I read [that] when Mahomet the Turk took that famous city Constantinople, digging by the foundations and bottoms of the houses he found such infinite treasure as the said Mahomet, condemning their wretchedness, wondered how this city could have been overcome or taken, if they had in time provided men of war and furniture for their defence, as they were very well able.¹

"So I say there wanteth not ability in us: if we be not taken unprovided and upon a sudden.

"And this is the only cause that hath moved me to say my mind frankly in this matter, and to set down these notes enclosed. . . .

"Humbly beseeching your good Lordship to bear with my presumption in dealing with matters so high, and to judge of them by your great wisdom and experience, how they may in your Lordship's judgment be worthy of consideration.

"Humbly taking my leave, from Deptford the 20 of July, 1584,

Your Honorable Lordship's ever assuredly bounden

JOHN HAWKYNS."

20 July, 1584.

"The best means how to annoy the King of Spain in my opinion, without charge to her Majesty, which also shall bring great profit to her highness subjects, is as followeth:—²

"First, if it shall be thought meet that the King of Portyngall may in his right make war with the King of Spain,³ then he would be the best man to be head of the faction.

"There would be obtained from the said King of Portugal an authority to some person, that should always give leave to such as upon their own charge would serve [him] and annoy the King of Spain, as they might both by sea and land: and of their booties to pay unto the King of Portyngall five or ten of the hundredth.

"There would be also some one person authorised by Her Majesty to take notes of

¹They were able but unwilling. See "A Short History of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem," by E. M. Tenison (1922), pp. 30-41, for consequences of those events in 1453.

²Unpublished Lansdowne MS. f. 21-22. Spelling modernised; but Hawkins's paragraphs precisely as in orig.:

³As Burghley in 1581 had noted to be the case. "Considerations" &c. E.E. II. 5. (2), ante. vol. IV., pp. 101-113.

such as do serve the said K. of Portyngall, and so that party with her Majesty's consent to give them leave and allowance, to retire, victual and sell in some port of the West Country: for which liberty they should pay unto her Majesty five or ten of the hundredth.

"None should have leave to serve the said King of Portyngall but they should put in surely to offend no person but such as the said K[ing] had war with; and should be bound to break no hulk but in the port allowed: where would be commissions appointed to restore such goods as are belonging to friends in amity with the King of Portugal and to allow the rest to be takers.¹

"There would be martial law for such as committed piracy, for now there can be none excuses but all idle seamen may be employed":

(This last means that English pirates sometimes alleged that they could get no legitimate work and so robbed at sea in order to live; which could no longer be said if they could have employment under the double license of Queen Elizabeth and of King Antonio.)

"If these conditions be allowed, and that men may enjoy that which they lawfully take in this service, the best owners and merchant adventurers in the River will put in fast and attempt great things.

"The gentlemen and owners in the West parts will enter deeply into this party.

"The Flushingers will also be a great party in this matter.

"The Protestants of France will be a great company to help this attempt.

"The Portyngalls in the Islands, in Brazil and in 'genez' for the most part will continually revolt.

"The fishings of Spain and Portyngall, which is their greatest relief, will be utterly impeached and destroyed.

"The Islands will be sacked, their forts defaced, and their brass ordnance brought away.

"Our own people, as gunners (whereof we have few) would be made expert and grow in numbers,² our idle people would grow to be good men of war both by land and sea.

"The coast of Spain and Portingall in all places would be so annoyed, as to keep continual armies there would be no possibility, for that of my knowledge, it is treble more tedious and chargeable to prepare shipping and men in those parts than it is with us.

"The voyage offered by Sir Francis Drake might best be made lawful to go under this license also, which would be secret till the time draw near of their readiness.

"All this before rehearsed shall not by any mean draw the King of Spain to offer a war, for that this party will not only consist of young Englishmen, but rather of the French, Flemings, Scots and such like, so as King Philip shall be forced by great entreaty to make Her Majesty a mean to withdraw the forces of her subjects and the aid of Her Highness's ports. For otherwise there will be such scarcity in Spain and his coast so annoyed, as Spain never endured so great smart. The reason is that *the greatest traffics of all King Philip's dominions must pass to and fro by the seas, which will hardly escape intercepting*.³

That "*the voyage offered by Sir Francis Drake*," was no independent "piracy" can be made clear. For there is in the Public Record Office a hitherto unknown

¹ See App: (Passport to King Antonio's shipmasters). E.E., pp. 112.

² This has been overlooked by Hawkins's biographer, Mr. James A. Williamson, who attributes to English gunnery a degree of superiority over Spain which Hawkins himself never claimed.

³ Observe that Hawkins, who was aware of King Philip's intention to invade England, and had in 1571 staved it off, now hoped to avert it again.

Privy Seal Warrant to him, dated 29 July 1584, nine days subsequent to Hawkins's letter. It allows him £10,000 for "his expenses in negotiations and services to her Majesty."¹

That this £10,000 was paid during the next five months the Warrant Books bear witness. The last instalment of £1000 was handed over on the 28th of December.¹

Nothing of this was suspected by the author of "*Drake and the Tudor Navy*," who—forgetting the Queen's dismissal of the Spanish Ambassador, and the conspiracies which gave rise to the necessity,—commended "Elizabeth's genius for maintaining peace,"² rebuked Lord Burghley and "the Government" for their "faulty" views of the "Naval Art,"³ and stated that "as the year 1584 drew on" the "prospect of invasion grew more remote."⁴

On the contrary, "as the year 1584 drew on" Burghley and Leicester—because of the imminent danger—devised the "*Instrument for the Preservation of Her Majesty's Royal Person*," which imposed upon all the heads of families and all institutions throughout the realm a new and more active Oath of Allegiance,—in terms we must examine carefully.

Corbett's conjectures as to Queen Elizabeth's "*darkest and most tortuous bits of policy*," are misleading; for while alluding to the Parliament of 1584, and to Drake's part in a Committee for "*the better and more reverend observing of the Sabbath*,"⁵ the main business of that Parliament,—preparation for war, and the taking of a new Oath by every peer and every member of the Lower House,—escaped notice. Yet it was in fulfilment of this vow of 1584 that Drake undertook the expeditions of 1585-86, and 1587; which he carried out, not as Corbett says, "with the instinct . . . born in his pirate days";⁶ but according to powers lawfully conferred upon him as his Sovereign's "*Admiral of the Seas*."⁷

¹ Discovered by Captain B. M. Ward (late of the King's Dragoon Guards) when examining the unpublished Warrant Books; and forwarded by him to the present writer.

² Corbett, Vol. II. p. 1. ³p. 8. ⁴p. 9. ⁵p.16. ⁶p. 58.

⁷ As English historians have set the example, we cannot be surprised that even Don Gervasio de Artiñano classes Drake among pirates and "filbusteros": *Academia de la Historia, "Discursos leídos en la recepción pública de D. Gervasio de Artiñano y de Galdacano el día 16 de Junio de 1935."* (Madrid,) pp. 18-19. But (as Don Beltrán de Castro subsequently observed to King Philip's Council of State,) no man is a pirate whose actions have been authorised by his Sovereign.

WILLIAM OF NASSAU, "THE SILENT," PRINCE OF ORANGE:

From the original by Mireveldt in the Rijks Museum, Amsterdam.

(A contemporary copy of this is at Amerongen.)

An English officer, who had known him since 1566 or earlier, described him as "of bodie well compact, of stature little more than meane, of good complexion, auburne beard, somewhat full faced."

"His title was this, William by the Grace of God, Prince of Orange, Earle of Nassau, Catzenclenburg, Dietst, Viand, etc., Marquesse of Der Vere, and Flushing, Burgrave of Antwerpe, Baron of Breda, Dryest, Grymberg, Arkize, Nozeroy, etc. Lord of Casteleyne etc., Governour Generall of the Low Countries, viz. of Brabant, Holland, Zealand, Vtrecht, and Frizland, Admirall of the seas in the lower Germanie."

T[homas] C(hurchyard]: "*A True Discourse Historical: of the succeeding Governnovrs in the Netherlands . . . 1602.*" p. 54.

In the official pamphlet, "*Verhael vande Moort*," etc., issued by the States of Holland in 1584, describing his death, his titles and offices are as follows: "Wilhelm by der gracie Godts, Prince van Oraengien, Grave van Nassau, Catzenelboghen, Vianden, Dietz, Lingen, Buren, Leerdam, &c. Marquis vander Veere, ende van Vlissinghen, Heere ende Baron van Breda, Grimberghen, Arlay, Nozeroy Erff-Burch-Graeff van Antwerpen, ende van Bezanson, Gouverneur Generael, van Brabant, Hollandt, Zeelandt, Frieslandt, ende Utrecht, Admirael vander Zee."



"A TRAGICALL HISTORIE . . . OF THE LOW COUNTRIES."

Bibliographical Note on Thomas Stocker's translation, 1584.

In March 1583-4 not many weeks after the Spanish Ambassador had been expelled by Queen Elizabeth from England there was "imprinted at London" "*A Tragical Historie of the troubles and Civile Warres of the lowe Countries. . . Wherein is sett forth the originall and full proceeding of the said troubles . . . with all the stratagemes, sieges, forceable takinges, and manlike defences of divers and sondrie Cities, Tounes, and Fortresses of the same, together [with] the Barbarous Crueltie and tyrannie of the Spaniard and trecherous Hispaniolised Wallons and others of the said lowe Countries: And therewithall the Estate and Cause of Religion, especially from the yere 1559 unto the yere 1581. Besides many Letters, Comissions, Contracts of Peace, Unions, Articles, and Agreements, Published and Proclaimed in the said Provinces. Translated out of French into Englishe by T. S. Gent*";—viz., Thomas Stocker.¹

The French "*Histoire*" from which it was derived had been first printed in 1582; so Stocker laboured betimes at the translation of a work now so rare that it is only recently acquired by the British Museum.² It is known in France to-day through later versions, which, for reasons presently to be explained, are not representative. The extreme scarcity of the first French edition is explicable on political grounds. Though there is reason to believe the French "*Histoire des Troubles*" to be the original work, it was not in the French language that this History made its pioneer appearance; but in Dutch, and from a printing press in Norwich.

In the year 1576 there had arrived in England, from Brabant, Antoine de Solen (Solempne, or de la Solemne) who in 1580 was made a freeman of Norwich, and given liberty to exercise his art of printing, and to sell Rhenish wine. The most important product of his press was "*Chronye-Historie der Nederlandscher Oorlogen Troublen ende oproeren oorspronck, anuanc ende cynde, Item den Standt der Religien, tot desen Jure 1580. Gedruct tot Noortwitz na de Copie van Basel. Anno 1579.*" The History was based on information "from a Counsellor at Brussels."

What patron enabled him to publish it in Dutch at Norwich is unknown; but that the English version is dedicated to Lord Leicester will appear the more significant when the nature of the History is realised. In 1578, on the 18th of June, in a Synod of the Dutch Protestant Churches held at Dordrecht, the question was raised whether the world ought not to be informed anew of the reasons for which the war was being carried on against Spain.

The Norwich edition is described as by "*Adam Henricipetri*"—but a possible author is Philip Marnix de St. Aldegonde. As he usually wrote in French, (not Dutch), the first French edition may have been from his unaltered MS, and authorised, despite the absence of printer's name or place of printing on title page.³

This "*Histoire de la Guerre du Pays de Flandres*" appeared in 1583 "*Avec Privilege du Roy, pour dix ans;*" "*A Lyon, par Jean Stratius, à la Bible d'or*," and again from the same printer in 1584. But the "Most Christian King" of France was not permitting his subjects to hear of contemporary events from a Huguenot standpoint. As issued from Lyons, all references to the St Bartholomew Massacre vanished utterly: as also every phrase or statement which could offend the Pope or reflect on the King of Spain. Frenchmen to-day—and some Englishmen—if they look at the book, usually see it in these later editions. Stocker's rendering of the original work is the only complete translation.

¹ His name is not on title page but in the dedication, dated "London, the XV of Marche, 1583." (1584 n.s.) "Imprinted at London by Thom Kyngston for Tobie Smith, dwelling in Paules Churchyard, at the signe of the Crane." (B.M. G.15080; the only edition in B.M.)

² "*Histoire des Troubles et Guerres du Pays-Bas, autrement dict la Flandre.* Contenant l'origine et progres d'icelle, les stratagemes de guerre, oppugnations et expugnations des villes et forteresses, aussi la barbare Tyrannie et cruauté de l'Espagnol, et des Espagnolisez. Ensemble l'Estat et faict de la Religion, especialement depuis l'an 1559 jusques à l'an 1581, etc. Le tout departy en quatres Liures. 1582." No name of printer. Title from "*Archaeologia*," N.S. Vol. I. 1888. Art XI, "Bibliography of Chronye-Historie," etc., etc. By W. J. S. Moens, F.S.A. (For particulars of "The Dutch and Walloons at Norwich," see article by Miss Karte Hotblack in "History." N.S. Vol. VI. (1922) pp. 234-239).

³ For this suggestion, vide Mr. Moens in "*Archaeologia*," 1888, N.S. Vol. I. (art: cit ante). But Moens' description of the Northern Provinces as fighting "against the Crown" is misleading: for they had no abhorrence of Crowns as such; their objection was to King Philip's insistence on the Inquisition, and to his heavy taxation.

"ON THE KING'S SERVICE" 1584.

Passport to Dom Antonio's Ship Masters, now first translated.

Preserved among MS. matter relating to Antonio's activities as approved by the Queen of England and the United Provinces, is a printed form in Portuguese, "Given at Middelburg on the 23rd day of the month of October, signed by me" (viz. Diogo Botelho) "Sealed with the Royal Seal of his Majesty, and written by Antonio de Sousa. 1584."¹ (Cotton MS. Nero B.I. f. 223 (261).) So far as can be ascertained, this is now unknown in the Netherlands.

To put it into English will illustrate the system to which Hawkins was alluding when working out plans (here first published) for concerted action.

"Diogo Botelho, of the Council of State of His Serene Majesty Dom Antonio King of Portugal; and keeper of the [King's] Treasury, doth declare to all Captains commanding warships with charters from His Majesty, and [to] all others in his service, that the master of the ship named [] living at [] and proceeding from [] to [] has requested that I have this Passport issued in order that he may freely proceed on this voyage without harm or hindrance to himself, the bullion² or ship.

In the name of His Majesty I request and order all the said Captains who are in the service of the King, to allow him to pass free and without harm: on [their] being shown this passport certified at the back by the burgomaster of the city or place where the ship will load, [guaranteeing] that she does not carry any wheat, barley, flour, bran, biscuits, beans, peas, pork; or arms and munitions of war, or gunpowder, saltpetre, sulphur, copper or wire made of copper, metal or any other material from which bronze cannon may be cast.

And it shall be further certified on the back of the said Passport, on behalf of His Majesty, that the dues to His Majesty for this Passport were paid; and guarantee produced that . . . the other dues for the return voyage will be paid on the cargo which may be brought back.

The above mentioned [shipmaster] must produce this Passport with the confirmation on the back thereof, when required by the aforementioned Captains of His Majesty: who shall then allow him to proceed, without injuring him or detaining his ship, or impeding his voyage, which is on the King's service.

"If the said Captains fail to comply with these instructions, the King my Master will hold them disobedient and rebellious . . . , and will proceed against them as pirates. And by this instrument with the powers I hold from His Majesty, I empower the said Ship Master to demand justice against any Captains who disregard this passport;" [the injured bringing his complaint] "before such officers of His Majesty as are appointed to judge such actions: whereon complete justice will be rendered to him. This Passport is valid to the said Master only for this voyage and return. Given at Middelburgh on the 23rd day of . . . October . . ." (etc. as aforesaid) 1584.

Possibly one reason why this has escaped the notice of all our writers on Elizabethan enterprise by sea is that it is catalogued merely as a passport of Diogo Botelho: as if it were personal to him. But its wider interest will be seen, now that it is appended to the unpublished memoranda of Hawkins in 1584 suggesting how to organise the combined efforts of England and of King Antonio, for their mutual interest and defence. Furthermore, it makes clear that although fifteen months had elapsed since the loss of Terceira, Gracioso, Fayal, St. George, Flores, etcetera,—from the date of which defeat Dom Antonio did not own an acre of land in all the vast Empire to the rulership of which he had been elected four years earlier,—yet there were still at sea sufficient "Captains in his Majesty's service" for the issuing of such a passport in print to be worth his while.

That he had still a Council of State, a Treasury, and officers of Justice, (not merely holding empty titles, but actively employed); and that he was working up towards a large plan of campaign, with Hawkins and Drake his advisers in marine causes, and Lord Burghley, the Earl of Leicester and Sir Francis Walsingham his friends and supporters in the English Privy Council, has not been adequately realised by any of the modern biographers of the eminent Englishmen named.

¹ The Ambassador who drew up "*The Explanation*," 1585.

² *Fazenda*. The word has two meanings, (a) bullion or specie; (b) textile goods.

"YORKE, YORKE FOR MY MONIE"

A typical popular ballad, 1582-1584.

"Imprinted at London, by Richard Jones, dwelling near Holbourne Bridge, 1584,"—"From Yorke, by W. E." (William Elderton)—"A New Yorkshyre Song" long remained a favourite ditty. It was still in circulation in the early 19th century, in "*The Yorkshire Garland*": which was "Printed and sold by E. Langdale; sold also by T. Langdale, Ripon; W. Langdale, Knaresborough; and the principal Booksellers in the County. 1825."

It refers to an occasion when Robert, Earl of Essex, as a boy, was staying with his cousin Henry, Earl of Huntingdon, Lord President of York; and George Earl of Cumberland brought rival archers to compete against the Yorkshiresmen. According to the editor of "*The Roxburghe Ballads*" Elderton's verses were first written and printed in 1582. In that year Essex on the 31st May was writing from York to intercede for one of his father's old servants.¹ He was then fourteen and a half, already commended for his "good will" and geniality.

A NEW YORKSHYRE SONG.

Intituled :

Yorke, Yorke, for my monie :
Of all the cities that ever I see,
For merry pastime and companie,
Except the cittie of London.

AS I came through the North Countree,
The fashions of the world to see,
I sought for my mery companie,
To go to the cittie of London :
And when to the cittie of Yorke I came,
I found good companie in the same,
As well disposed to every game,
As if it had been at London.

Yorke, Yorke, for my monie,
Of all the cities that ever I see,
For merry pastime and companie,
Except the cittie of London.

¹ See Richard Broughton's "*Devereux Papers*," Camden Miscell: N.S. XIII, p. 22 (London, 1924):—

"Mr. Broughton, I und'rstand by this bearer Richard Powell my ffathers old servant that he holdeth a little tenem^t of me in Lynols of vij^s iiiij next and there is a farme called Sherrats farme w^t the widow that holdeth it is not desirous to sue for. I pray you let him obtayne so much favor^r that he may take it for his money before any other w^t is his only sute. William Powell hath bene here w^t me cravinge some help or relief at my hands for whom I would do for his M^rs sake any thinge that I could, and therefore considering his want I desire you if you can spye any such things whereby he might have some stay of livinge that you will provide for him. Thus w^t 26 dozen of comendacons to all my ffriends in Staffordshire I bid you farewell. Yorke, this last of May. 1582. Yor^r R. Essex."

I promysed M^r Aston to do for Powell who requested me in his lyfe tyme. I specially commend my self to the house of Bliethfield."

And in that cittie what saw I then?
 Knightes, Squires, and Gentlemen,
 A shooting went for matches ten,
 As if it had been at London.
 And they shot for twentie poundes a bowe,
 Besides great cheere they did bestowe,
 I never sawe a gallanter showe,
 Except I had been at London.
 Yorke, Yorke, for my monie, &c.

These matches you shall understande,
 The Earl of Essex took in hande,
 Against the good Earle of Cumberlante,
 As if it had been at London.
 And agreede these matches all shall be,
 For pastime and good companie,
 At the city of Yorke full merily,
 As if it had been at London.
 Yorke, Yorke, for my monie, &c.

In Yorke there dwells an Alderman, which
 Delights in shooting very much,
 I never heard of any such
 In all the cittie of London.
 His name is Maltbie, mery and wise,
 At any pastime you can devise,
 But in shooting all his pleasure lyes,
 The like was never in London.
 Yorke, Yorke, for my monie, &c.

This Maltbie for the citties sake,
 To shoote (himself) did undertake,
 At any good match the Earls would make,
 As well as they do at London.
 And he brought to the felde with him,
 One Specke, an archer, proper and trim,
 And Smith, that shoothe about the pin,
 As if it had been at London.
 Yorke, Yorke, for my monie, &c.

Then came from Cumberlante archers thre,
 Best bowmen in the North Countree,
 I will tell you their names what they be,
 Well known to the cittie of London.
 Walmsley many a man doth knowe,
 And Bolton how he draweth his bowe,
 And Ratcliffe shooting long agoe,
 Well knowne to the cittie of London.
 Yorke, Yorke, for my monie, &c.

And the noble Earle of Essex came,
 To the felde himself to see the same,
 Which shal be had for ever in fame,
 As soone as I come at London.

For he shewed himself so diligent there,
 To make a marke and keepe it faire:
 It is worthie memorie to declare
 Through all the cittie of London.
 Yorke, Yorke, for my monie, &c.

And then was shooting out of crye,
 And skantling at a handfull nie,
 And yet the winde was very hie,
 As it is sometimes at London.
 They clapt the cloutes so on the ragges,
 There was such betting and such bragges,
 And galloping up and down with nagges,
 As if it had been at London.
 Yorke, Yorke, for my monie, &c.

And never an archer gave regarde
 To half a bowe and half a yarde,
 I never see matches goe more harde
 About the cittie of London.
 For fairer play was never plaide,
 For fairer layes were never laide,
 And a week together they kept this trade,
 As if it had been at London.
 Yorke, Yorke, for my monie, &c.

The maior of Yorke, with his companie,
 Were all in the fields, I warrant ye,
 To see good rule kept orderly,
 As if it had been at London.
 Which was a dutifull sight to see,
 The Maior and Aldermen there to bee,
 For setting forth of archerie,
 As well as they do at London.
 Yorke, Yorke, for my monie, &c.

And there was neither fault nor fray,
 Nor any disorder anyway,
 But every man did pitch and pay,
 As if it had been at London.
 As soon as every match was done,
 Every man was paid that won,
 And merily vp and downe did ronne,
 As if it had been at London.

Yorke, Yorke, for my monie, &c.
 And never a man that went abroade,
 But thought his monie well bestowde,
 And monie laide in heap und loade,
 As if it had been at London.
 And gentlemen there so franke and free,
 As a mint at Yorke again should bee,
 Like shooting did I never see,
 Except I had been at London.
 Yorke, Yorke, for my monie, &c.

At Yorke were Ambassadours three,
 Of Russia—Lordes of high degree,
 This shooting they desirde to see,
 As if it had been at London.
 And one desirde to draw a bowe
 The force and strength thereof to knowe,
 And for his delight he drew it so
 As seldom seen in London.
 Yorke, Yorke, for my monie, &c.

And they did marvaile very much,
 There could be any archer such,
 To shooe so farre the cloute to tutch,
 Which is no news to London.
 And they might well consider,
 An English shaft will kill a man,
 As hath been proved, where and whan,
 And chronicled since in London.
 Yorke, Yorke, for my monie, &c.

The Earle of Cumberlande's archers won,
 Two matches cleare, ere all was done,
 And I made hast a pace to ronne,
 To larne these news to London.
 And Walmsley did the vpshot win,
 With both his shafts so near the pin,
 You could scant have put three fingers in,
 As if it had been at London.
 Yorke, Yorke, for my monie, &c.

I passe not for my monie it cost,
 Though some I spent and some I lost,
 I wanted neither sod nor roast,
 As if it had been at London.
 For there was plentie of every thing,
 Redd and fallowe deere, for a king,
 I never saw so mery shooting,
 Since first I came from London.
 Yorke, Yorke, for my monie, &c.

God save the cittie of Yorke therefore,
 That hath such noble friends in store,
 And such good aldermen send them more,
 And the like good luck at London.
 For it is not little joy to see,
 When Lords and Aldermen so agree,
 With such according communaltie,
 God send us the like in London.
 Yorke, Yorke, for my monie, &c.

God save the good Earle of Cumberlande,
 His praise in golden lines shall stande,
 That maintains archerie through the land,
 As well as they do at London.

Whose noble mind so courteously
 Acquaintes himself with the communaltie,
 To the glory of his nobilitie,
 I will carie the praise to London.
 Yorke, Yorke, for my monie, &c.

And tell the good Earle of Essex thus,
 As he is now young and prosperous,
 To vse such properties Vertuous,
 Deserves great praise at London.
 For it is no little joy to see
 When noble youthes so gracious bee,
 To give their good willes to their countrie,
 As well as they do at London.
 Yorke, Yorke, for my monie, &c.

Farewell good citie of Yorke to thee
 Tell Alderman Maltbie this from mee,
 Inn print shall this good shooting bee,
 As soone as I come at London.
 And many a Song will I bestow,
 On all the musitians that I know,
 To sing the praises where they goe,
 Of the citie of York, in London.
 Yorke, Yorke, for my monie, &c.

God save our Queen, and keep our peace,
 That our good shooting may increase,
 And praying to God let vs not cease,
 As well at Yorke, as at London.
 That all our countree round about
 May have archers good to hit the cloute,
 Which England cannot be without,
 No more than Yorke or London.
 Yorke, Yorke, for my monie, &c.

God graunt that (once) her Majestie
 Would come, her citie of Yorke to see,
 For the comfort great of that countree,
 As well as she doth at London.
 Nothing shall be thought to deare,
 To see her Highnes person there,
 With such obedient loue and feare
 As ever she had in London.
 Yorke, Yorke, for my monie,
 Of all the citties that ever I see.

Although by the end of the 15th century, Artillery had, to a considerable extent, replaced Archery in war, the Statute of Henry VIII was kept in operation by Queen Elizabeth.¹ To inculcate precision,

¹ (33rd H: VIII, 9.) "Every man being the Queenes subject not lame, decrepit, maymde, nor having any other lawfull or reasonable cause or impediment," except clergy, Justices, Barons of the Exchequer, "shall exercise shooting in long bowes, and also have a bow and Arrowes continually in his house, to use, . . . and every father, ruler and governor, shall bring up those which be in his house in tender age in knowledge of shooting." Fulton's "Abstract of all the penal Statutes," London, 1579, p. 22 verso and 23. Training in "Archerie" began for boys at seven years old.

accuracy and swiftness, Archery was to remain both obligatory and popular till the end of the century and after.

In 1583, "*Imprynted by Iohn Wolfe dwelling in Distaffe Lane neere the sygne of the Castle,*" appeared "*The Ancient Order, Societie, and Unitie, Laudable of Prince Arthure, and his Knightly Armony of the Round Table. With a threefold Assertion friendly in favour and furtherance of English Archery at this day. Translated and Collected by R.R.*" (Richard Robinson, Citizen of London), dedicated to "Thomas Smith, Esquire, Chief Customer in the Port of London, and to the Worshipful Society of Archers" (B.M. 90. b. 22).¹

The Archers are described as "hero" (in London) "yearely celebrating the renowned memory of the magnificent Prince Arthure and his Knightly Traine of the Round Table"; and Sovereigns are saluted as the chief protectors of their people. Queen Elizabeth is especially apostrophised for "Treasures spent in our defence geanst forayn foes and bralles." (The difficulty of getting her to open the purse strings was known only to her intimates.)

¹ Robinson's book was one of many on "the most noble and worthy Kynge Arthur," whose story had been partly represented in 1575 in the Kenilworth pageant (E.E. vol. III, pp. 3-12). Arthurian legends had been popular long previously: "Forasmuch as it is delectable to all human nature to read and to heare these auncient noble histories . . . of the victorious Knights of tymes past . . . I, John Bourghchere Knight, Lord Berners, have enterprised to translate into our naturall tongue," etc. etc. "Imprinted at London by Thomas East." N.D., but conjectured at B.M. as 1582. (No. C.56. d.17.) As Essex's father had been heir to the Bourchier Earls (E.E. vol. II, pp. 167-168,) and Baron Bourchier was one of Essex's titles, this "*History,*" by the first English translator of Froissart's *Chronicles*, is likely to have been in Essex's library at Chartley.

PART III.

“*Ambitious, Politic, and Valiant.*”

CHAPTER I.

“IF YOUR MAJESTY HAD ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND.”

SECTION 5.

“*Of best and greatest promise.*”

(*The Boyhood of Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex*).

“. . . Such as love and honour you, . . . count to have your Father's vertues discende with his inheritance . . . he was wyse, just, valiant, and temperate . . . that excellent mixture of disposition, and aptness both for warre and peace, doth promise to the world a singular perfection in you hereafter. . . .

. . . wysely foresee the end before you beginne,” and, being resolved on a good service, “follow the same with such invincible constancie in all extremities as your Father dyd . . .”

Edward Waterhouse, dedicating to the Earl of Essex (then aged ten) “A Funeral Sermon . . . at the burial of . . . Walter Earle of Essex & Ewe” etc., 1576.

MS. in possession of the Viscount Hereford. (Printed in 1577. B.M., G.1998. See E.E., Vol. III, plate 11).

“I tender my most ample and humble thanks to your Lordship for your singular care for me; and I hope I shall so spend my time that my studies may not cease with my leaving college, and that I may be observed to persevere at large in the practice of virtue and scholarly love which will produce that true nobility to which your Lordship would direct my efforts.”

Latin letter, 14 Oct: 1577, from Robert Earl of Essex, at Cambridge, aged not quite eleven, to his guardian Lord Burghley. Orig: Lansdowne (Burghley) MS. First published, E.E., Vol. III, p. 56).

“And tell the good Earle of Essex thus,
As he is now young and prosperous,
To use such properties vertuous
Deserves great praise at London.
For it is no little joy to see
When noble youthes so gracious bee
To give their good willes to their countrie.”

Street ballad: “A New Yorkshyre Song,” by William Elderton, 1582. (E.E., pp. 113-117).

“. . . the most noble and distinguished Lord the Earl of Essex, a youth of best and greatest promise. . . .”

“Ricardi Harveii, Ephemeron, sive Paean, in gratiam perpurgatae, reformataeque Dialeticae,” 1583.

NOTE: FIVE CENTURIES OF THE ESSEX EARLDOM.

We usually refer to "Robert Devereux, Second Earl of Essex"; but by descent he was the 19th. This title had been first created by King Stephen, about 1139, for Geoffrey de Mandeville, of noble Norman origin.¹ Son of William de Mandeville, Constable of the Tower of London, Geoffrey was appointed to the same office. Sometimes fighting for Stephen and sometimes rebelling, he was slain in the Civil Wars, in 1144; excommunicated and outlawed; and his estates forfeited.²

By his second wife, Rohesia,—sister of Aubrey de Vere, 1st Earl of Oxford, Lord Great Chamberlain of England,—he left a son Geoffrey, to whom the forfeited Earldom was generously restored by King Henry II. Killed in a tournament, Geoffrey was succeeded by his brother William the Crusader, who since 1180 had been Earl of Albemarle in right of his wife. As Earl of Albemarle and of Essex, William carried the "great Crown" at the Coronation of King Richard Coeur de Lion. After this 3rd Earl's death without male heirs, the title was revived for Geoffrey Fitz-Piers, who was husband of Beatrice, daughter of William de Say, and granddaughter of Geoffrey de Mandeville the first Earl of Essex. In right of his wife, Fitz-Piers gained not only the title but a great inheritance of lands.

This 4th Earl of Essex, appointed by Richard Coeur de Lion Constable of the Tower of London, officiated at the Coronation of King John in 1199. Warden of the Cinque Ports, 1206, and Joint Guardian of England, 1213, he successfully resisted the claim of his wife's uncle, Geoffrey de Say, to be heir to the Mandeville estates.

The fourth Earl's son, another Geoffrey Fitz-Piers, Earl of Essex, Constable of the Tower, revived the name of De Mandeville. In right of his wife he was granted the Earldom of Gloucester by King John; and was one of the peers who forced the King to Sign the Magna Charta.³ This Earl Geoffrey was killed in a tournament, as the second Earl had been.

His brother William, Ambassador to France, and successor to the Essex Earldom, married Christian, daughter of Sir Robert Fitzwalter, "Marshal of the Army of God and Holy Church." Dying "in the flower of his youth" (1227), William, 6th Earl of Essex, left no children; so for the third time

¹ See G. E. C.'s *Complete Peerage* (1890) Vol. III, p. 280, quoting Dugdale, I, 201; and Selden's *Titles of Honour*, p. 647. King Stephen's grant was confirmed by the Empress Maud, whose charter "do et concedo gaufredo de Magnavilla pro servitio suo et haeredibus suis post eum haereditabiliter ut sit Comes de Essexia et habeat tertium denarium Vicecomitatis de placitis, sicut Comes habere debet in comitatu suo." This is said to be "one of the very earliest charters of express creation of the title of Earl." "At the time of the Conquest there were only four subjects in Normandy who held the rank of Count: viz: (1) The Count of Eu; (2) The Count of Evreux, both descendants of Richard I (Duke) of Normandy; (3) The Countess of Aumale, sister and (4) The Count of Mortaine, uterine brother to the Conqueror." See "The Counts of Eu," by Edmund Chester Waters, B.A.; "Yorkshire Archaeological Journal," Vol. IX, pp. 257-302; 401-420; and G.E.C. Vol. III, p. 290, notes b. and c. The title of "Earl of Ewe" (Eu) was subsequently claimed by the Devereux Earls, and used by Robert, 2nd and 19th Earl of Essex.

² Despite his excommunication, the Knights Templar in London allowed him an effigy tomb in their church.

³ Isabel (or Avisa) daughter and heir of William Earl of Gloucester, was married to Prince John, youngest son of Henry II; but John annulled the marriage on the excuse of consanguinity; and "gave her over in marriage to Geoffrey de Magna villa, Earle of Essex, with the said Earldom of Gloucester." Milles, "Catalogue of Honor," 1610, p. 363.

the Earldom lapsed to the Crown. It was restored for his sister Lady Maud, wife of Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, who through this marriage became 7th Earl of Essex. He was godfather at the christening of Edward Prince of Wales in 1239.

For six generations thenceforth the Essex and Hereford Earldoms remained in this ancient family of De Bohun; and the 12th and last de Bohun Earl of Essex and Hereford was also Earl of Northampton. After his death without male heirs, his eldest daughter and co-heiress, Lady Eleanor, married the youngest son of King Edward III, Thomas of Woodstock, who was created Earl of Buckingham and Essex, and Duke of Gloucester. Murdered at Calais in 1397, Thomas, Duke of Gloucester left an only son Humphrey, who died unmarried in 1399.¹ Thus for the fourth time the Essex title fell into abeyance.

But the Plantagenet Kings were strong believers in hereditary nobility; and again the Earldom was renewed (1461); this time for Henry Bourchier, son of William Count of Eu in Normandy; and through his mother, grandson of Thomas Plantagenet, Earl of Essex and Duke of Gloucester aforesaid.

This first Bourchier Earl had a royal bride, Lady Isabel, sister of Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York (the father of King Edward IV), and daughter of Richard Earl of Cambridge.²

Essex was elected Knight of the Garter in 1452; and appointed subsequently Treasurer and Steward of the Household, and Lord Keeper of the Great Seal.

His son, William Viscount Bourchier, who married Lady Anne Woodville, (sister to the Queen of Edward IV), was killed at the battle of Barnet during his father's lifetime.

William's posthumous son, Henry, 15th Earl of Essex, carried the spurs at the Coronation of the first Tudor Monarch, Henry VII; and was bearer of the Sword of State at the Coronation of Henry VIII. Chief Captain of the Guard, and Marshal of the Camp at the "Field of the Cloth of Gold" (1520), he officiated at the Coronation of Anne Boleyn (1533). Surviving her fall, he kept the royal favour up to the last. But when he died, from the results of an accident, in March 1539-40, he left no male heirs; and once more the Essex Earldom came to an end.

Without any genealogical reason, it was given by King Henry to Thomas Cromwell, 17th April, 1540. But two months later, that favourite was attainted, and all his honours forfeited; and on the 28th July, 1540, he perished on the scaffold.

Next the title was conferred by Henry VIII on William, Baron Parr and Marquess of Northampton, his brother-in-law, who had married (but not happily) the only daughter of the last Bourchier Earl of Essex, Lady Anne.

Condemned to death by Queen Mary in 1553, for having accepted Lady Jane Grey as Queen, Northampton's titles were then declared forfeit. But his death sentence lacked the Royal signature; so he survived to be restored by Queen Elizabeth. After the death of his first wife,—with whom he had ceased to live, and who left no legitimate heirs,—the line of descent reverted to the heirs of Cecily Bourchier, daughter of William Viscount Bourchier who had been killed in the Battle of

¹ The fate of this Duke (Thomas) is touched upon in *King Richard II* (first 4to printed 1597), Act I, Sc: 2, where his widow rebukes her brother-in-law John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, for being resigned and passive when she thinks he should avenge the crime:

"Call it not patience, Gaunt, it is despair.
That which in mean men we entitle patience
Is pale cold cowardice in noble breasts."

² See E.E. Vol. VI, Tabular pedigree (compiled by the author) showing Plantagenet descent of the Bourchier and Devereux Earls of Essex.

Barnet. For Cecily's great-grandson, Walter Devereux, Viscount Hereford, Lord Ferrers of Chartley, also of ancient Norman name and lineage, this Twelfth Century Earldom was called out of abeyance by Queen Elizabeth in 1572: partly for ancestral reasons, but also as a reward for services at the time of the Northern Rising.¹

His son, the future second Devereux Earl, bore the Hereford title from 1572, until he in turn succeeded in 1576 to this Earldom of many vicissitudes.

Through his mother, Lettice Knollys—through the Carys and the Boleyns—Robert Earl of Essex was nearly related to Queen Elizabeth.² There has been a question as to whether the Knollys family was so ancient and exalted as Sir Francis Knollys believed. But on the Devereux, Bourchier, De Clarc, Hastings, and De Bohun side, Essex's forebears were so intertwined with the Chronicles of England at home and abroad that for him to study his own pedigree was to learn the story of his native country.

By his descent from Edward III, he had among his ancestors, Edward I, King Alfred the Great, Saint Margaret of Scotland, Saint Ferdinand of Spain, and the Emperor Charlemagne. The circumstances in which this royal descent, which he shared with others of the old nobility, was ultimately to be made a pretext for accusing him of "conspiring wth the Pope," to put the Crown on his own head, will be first fully revealed in later volumes of the present History.³

¹ E.E. Vol. II, pp. 167-168; 159-161. ² See E.E. Vol. III, plate 4, facing p. 18.

³ A biography of Essex by the present writer will not be published until after the case has been unfolded in "*Elizabethan England*."

"BOOKISHNESS FROM MY VERY CHILDHOOD":

Robert, Earl of Essex, and Richard Harvey's "Ephemeron," 1583.

When in 1598, Essex, created Earl Marshal of England and elected Chancellor of Cambridge University, in his 32nd year, was at the height of his renown, persons who envied his laurels rebuked him as overfond of glory. He answered that he had been "*more inflamed with the love of knowledge than with the love of fame*"; and took his friends to witness his "*bookishness from my very childhood*."

When at the age of ten he had started his career at Trinity College, Cambridge, he was urged by his elders never to waste a moment of time. The list of books bought for him, Latin and Greek, with only one in English (Holinshed's *Chronicles*), was as typical of the era as of the person. (E.E. Vol. III, p. 54). His early letters from Cambridge show his zeal for learning and learned men. The series of dedications to him from 1576 up to the last years of his eventful life, will be the subject of a separate publication.¹ At sixteen he received the dedication of Richard Harvey's Discourse on the reform of scholastic teaching of Logic. Only one copy of this—the example now in the Bodleian—seems to have survived: "*Ricardi Harveii; Ephemeron, sive Paean, in gratiam purpurgatae, reformataeque Dialeticae. Ad Nobilissimum Robertum Essexiae Comitem, Illustrissimae Spei Dominum. Londini; Ex officina Roberti Waldegrave. Anno Dom. 1583.*" Richard Harvey has been overshadowed by his better-known brother Gabriel Harvey. They were sons of a rope-maker; and started life without advantages other than those secured by their talents and good manners. Gabriel was early noticed by Lord Leicester, then Chancellor of Oxford; and Richard devoted himself to Leicester's stepson. His Latin letter "To the most noble and distinguished Lord, the Earl of Essex, a youth of best and greatest promise," relates how, being in company with persons "of much wisdom" and of notable scholarship, the conversation turned on the merits of such men of letters, in both Universities, as had given "to the world some monument of their genius." It was suggested that a Cambridge scholar "either in a brief pamphlet or short dialogue" should demonstrate how irksome are the "thorny and scholastic subtleties" of Logic as habitually taught. "Indeed," said my friend, "I earnestly desire to know how much any one young man of the University could do, in a disquisition on this matter, if he were called suddenly to treat it *ex tempore* with a Parisian of the Sorbonne"

Harvey would have preferred the task to be undertaken by those "who had given their attention to writing; whereas I hitherto had been wholly occupied in reading." "It is granted to very few to write well," although many "speak well, think well, understand well." But he accepted the challenge: and presented his "*Ephemeron*" to Essex as the most likely to welcome disquisition on "the art of Reason itself."² There is nothing to indicate whether the Universities were offended by the suggestion that their methods were imperfect. But we shall find Harvey again and again relying on the sympathy of Essex, whether against the "New Barbarism" of the "Martinists, or on behalf of the Trojan origin of the British Crown and its greater antiquity than that of any other Monarchy in Europe.

¹ Illustrated with facsimile title pages; and with biographical and bibliographical notes on the authors and their works. Supplementary volume to the Complete Life of Robert Earl of Essex, in preparation by the present writer.

² Latin Epistle (leaf 2, to 3(v)), ending "*Pergat Christus optimus maximus, Honoratissimam Dominationem tuam, omnibus & animi intercoribus, & corporis, fortunae exterioribus bonis luctucentissime in dies singulos cumulare. Praeclarissimo Honori tuo. A votis, Ricardus Harveius.*"

PART III.

“*Ambitious, Politic, and Valiant.*”

CHAPTER I.

“ IF YOUR MAJESTY HAD ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND.”

SECTION 5.

“*Of best and greatest promise.*”

(The Boyhood of Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex).

WE left “the Queen’s near kinsman by many alliances,” Robert, Earl of Essex, beginning his studies at Trinity College, Cambridge, at the age of ten: and soon afterwards visiting the Queen at the Court, when he was staying at Cecil House with his guardian Lord Burghley.

Because of the many high offices he was destined to fill, the various letters he wrote in Latin in his early boyhood, to Lord Burghley, are now worth rescuing from oblivion. In these we will see signs of the disposition which subsequently made Essex a noted champion of “the distressed.”¹ But there is scarcely any matter of consequence as to his character and actions which has not been misinterpreted in 19th and 20th century writings. An assertion that whereas his dying father bade him obey and imitate Lord Burghley, and implored Burghley to take an interest in the boy, young Essex abhorred his guardian, who neglected him and let him get into “rags” has been repeated again and again, as if it did not admit of question. The fallacy was dispelled only when the present writer issued a translation of Essex’s affectionate Latin letter to Burghley, which hitherto had been so strangely misread as to convey a meaning the exact opposite to what Essex himself intended.² The story that he spent a miserable boyhood because of Burghley’s antagonism, is the less accountable as his letters remain to show the contrary; also his mother’s letters testifying warmly to Burghley’s kindness.³ The boyish letters are, with a few exceptions, in Latin; some damp-stained, and therefore laborious to read. Possibly this is why they have waited so long to be transcribed and translated. As in our day all interpretations of Essex’s career have been coloured by the notion that

¹ “He alwaies helped the poore.” Elegiac verses, by one of his servants. Particulars under date.

² See E.E. Vol. III, pp. 52-56. For Essex’s childhood see E.E. Vol. III, pp. 17-24 and 43-60. His earliest letter to Lord Burghley, see plate 8 (English); and 10 (Latin). See also Vol. III, Plates 4 and 11, for portrait of his parents, and for a page of his pedigree.

³ First published, E.E. Vol. III, pp. 52.

a mutual dislike began between him and Burghley as soon as Essex was put into Burghley's charge, it is necessary to publish what Essex himself wrote.

"Whilst your Lordship shows yourself a most zealous patron of myself by acts of kindness in honourable ways, I often endeavour to prove myself a very dutiful pupil by writing.

"I pray God to keep your Lordship safe and free from harm. Farewell.

"Your Lordship's obedient

"R. ESSEX."

"At Caiston. Dec: Cal. Novemb. 1577."¹

In the autumn of 1578, before he had turned twelve, he began to appear in public.²

"I have gratified your wish and the desire of my friends, most honoured Lord," he wrote to Burghley, (as usual in Latin): "for in the first place I had betaken myself to the country, where I seem to be acceptable to everyone: wherefore I owe the most unalterable thanks to you for sending me to them to be thus welcomed. Next when I arrived at the town of Tamworth, I approached my kinsman Ferrers, and asked him to be pleased to accede to my request that I should be Steward to the people. At once he said that he would grant it. Then all acknowledged me their Steward, and I went in procession accompanied by the rest of the citizens through their town. Within the next two days they acted so that each seemed personally to congratulate me, and all of them to be delighted [by my appointment].

"And now at last I have returned to the University, without any detriment to my studies, I hope. And after being tossed by the waves I have reached my haven,—which is dear to me as immortality,—where I hope to extract such fruits from the origins of learning that my time may appear not ill but well spent.

"May God keep your Lordship safe and sound. Farewell. V^{to} Cal. Octobris. 1578.

"Your Lordship's most obedient

"R. ESSEX."³

The following month he wrote again to Burghley (in Latin):

"I, who after leaving the University some time ago told your Lordship that the plague had broken out again, now on the point of returning thither announce that it is overcome. I left unwillingly, but repair gladly and with a thankful heart to the abode of the Muses.

"I learnt that a certain man of good birth, Walter Harcourt,⁴ had been put in prison on a wrongful charge on the part of Mr. Ferrers. He was an ardent supporter of my candidature for the Stewardship of Tamworth, and I therefore beseech your Lordship to help him, both because he is an honest man and because you are kindly disposed to me.

"Finally I ask your help, most excellent friend, on behalf of Mr. Lloyd, whose father

¹ Lansdowne 25, art. 26, f. 54. Addressed "To the right honourable and my very good [L] the L. Burghley L. high Tresoror of England." Docketed by Burghley's secretary. "The Erle of Essex to my L. That hee would show him self a most dutifull ward as his Lordship had showed himself a careful guardian."

² For an Elizabethan, 12 was equal to about 19 or 20 to-day; education began early; especially for anyone of high rank.

³ Now first translated. Not preserved with the other letters in the B.M., but found by Murdin at Hatfield, and (though not a State Paper) printed by him in "State Papers . . . left by . . . Lord Burghley," 1759, p. 317.

⁴ Walterum Harguet.

left him £40 by Will: that (if it can conveniently be done) this sum may be paid him, as he is preparing to go abroad.

“I pray God to grant you a life as long as Nestor’s.

“Your Lordship’s devoted supporter

“Newington, iii^o Id. November 1578.”¹

“R. ESSEX.

Any man who had performed even a slight service for Essex could rely upon his never forgetting it; and his own favours were often to persons in no way able to requite him. Far from his being erratic, “moody” and inconsequent, as 19th century writers, including the 7th Duke of Manchester, have reiterated, few characters, when closely enough scrutinised, show a clearer accord between word and deed. From earliest childhood he had been imbued with the traditions of ancestral Christian chivalry.²

When he was twelve years and a few months old, there entered into his life a classical scholar destined to become renowned. To Burghley, from Trinity, Essex wrote:

“My Pillard³ leaving me affords a fitting opportunity for questioning your Lordship about another man who will soon instruct me in Greek and Theology. This is a certain Divine, so fine a Greek scholar and so well disposed towards me that I should esteem myself highly honoured if he were added to my establishment. He is a brother of my Broughton; [and is] now at Christ’s College, a protégé of Walsingham and Mildmay jointly. For what they pay him they should soon make progress in the Greek language. It is reported from our college that a Reader in Hebrew will give up his post to him. The Earl of Huntingdon wanted to take him away with him, but his patrons would rather he remained at the University for good, because they like him, as I understood from something they said to me about him when I was last in London. If your Lordship would authorise me to engage this man as tutor in Theology and Greek, I should deem myself highly honoured. I strongly urge your Lordship to do this. Farewell.

“Your Lordship’s obedient

“Cambridge, 18 April 1579.”⁴

“R. ESSEX.

This was Hugh Broughton, whose formidable works became so well known in the late 16th and early 17th centuries. Students then delighted in Greek and

¹i.e. 11th Nov: Addressed “To the right honourable my very good L. and Patron the L. Burghley, L. high (Treasurer) of England.” Docketed “The Erle of Essex to my L. To favour Mr. Harcot, in prison who assisted him in his petition for the stewardship of Tamworth. Mr. lloyd 40th legacy.”

²See E.E. Vol. II, pp. 22-23. In “Poems of Uncertain Authors,” in “The Works of the English Poets from Chaucer to Cowper,” ed: Johnson and Chalmers, (21 Vols.) Vol. II, p. 397, 1810, are crude but significant lines “On the death of Master Deuorox, The Lord Ferres [Ferrers’] Sonne”:

His birth of auntient blood, his parents of great fame,
And yet in vertue farre before the foremost of the same.
His King and countrye both he served . . .
No man in warre so mette an enterprise to take;
No man in peace that pleasure more of enimies frends to make . . .
. . . A man sent us from God . . . &c.

³His French tutor.

⁴Latin. Addressed to his “Lord and Patron” the Lord Burghley, etc. Docketed “18 April 1579 The Erle of Essex to my L to have Mr. Brough[ton] brother to read the Divinity [and] greke unto him.”

Hebrew, and endeavoured mentally to reconstruct the classic ages, and the eras of the Scriptures, beginning with the Flood.¹

In the autumn of the same year, Essex was still pleading for Broughton. From Cambridge, 19th October, he wrote to Richard Broughton, ". . . your brother Mr. Hugh by enjoying his prebend is now by the malice of the Master like to lose his place in Christ's College;" wherefore "I have written to my Lord Treasurer" asking him to write to the Master.²

Among the most frequent of illnesses in those days, the worst scourge was the plague. There was an epidemic at Cambridge.

"Although, most respected Lord, I was forced much against my will to absent myself from the University on account of the plague, yet now when I can without risk occupy myself once more therat, it is with great pleasure that I have returned from the crowd at Cleiston to the cultured study of the Muses: and although I have not been idle during my time in the country, still I shall employ my time more profitably here, God smiling upon my pursuits.

"I pray God that He may keep your Lordship safe and free from harm.
"Your Lordship's obedient

R. ESSEX.

"Cambridge. prid. Cal. Aprilis. 1578."³

In the spring of 1579, Essex's guardians sent back to France the boy Gabriel (son of the Comte de Montgomery,) for whose education Walter Earl of Essex had left a bequest, and whom he had wished to be a companion to his son.⁴

Essex then wrote to Burghley,

"Forasmuch (most honoured Lord) as your extraordinary love for me is so great that you always in every way try to advance my interests, I would never at any time do anything but at your bidding. Wherefore now that my Gabriel and Pillard have left, Mr. Bagot, a dear friend of my father, very well disposed to me, and my Broughton's father-in-law, is anxious that his son should serve me, and I should greatly like him to. Therefore I beg your Lordship that his desire and my wish may be supplemented by your command.

¹ All editions of Broughton's works are now rare. In the present writer's collection is the formidable folio, "The Works of The Great Albionian Divine, renown'd in many Nations For rare Skill in Salems [and] Athens Tongues, And familiar Acquaintance with all Rabbinical Learning, Hugh Broughton. Collected into one Volume, and Digested into Four Tomes. London, Printed for Nath. Ekins. MDCLXII." 732 pp: and Tables. Engraved portrait, an elegant and handsome man, holding a book in one hand and gloves in the other. Coat of Arms above oval: inscript: "aetatis 37.D. Hugo Broughton Theologus Litterarum et linguarum sacrarum Callentiss."

² Orig: Richard Broughton's *Devereux Papers*, Camden Soc: Miscel: XIII, 3rd Scr: (XXXIV), 1924, p. 20. The editor remarks on a "leading Hebraist" being "indebted to the intercession of a schoolboy." It was Sir Sidney Lee in the D.N.B. who alluded to Essex's "schoolboy" valour, and "schoolboy" he has remained ever since! The word should be discarded, as Essex never was at school; he went straight to Cambridge from private tutors. His maturity for his years, and the distinguished figure he soon cut at Cambridge, are amply attested by his own contemporaries. (Many examples in E.E.).

³ Latin. Docketed "Cal. Apr. The Erle of Essex to my L. Vpon his returne to Cam[bridge] from Keiston where hee [retired?] for ye plague."

⁴ See E.E. Vol. III. p. 55.

“I pray God to grant a life as long as Nestor’s to your greatness. Farewell. Cambridge.
3rd May 1579.

“Your Lordship’s obedient

“R. ESSEX.”¹

(Thus enters Anthony Bagot, of whom we will hear again. A scion of one of the old families of Staffordshire, (now represented by Lord Bagot), his father, Richard Bagot, had the management of some of Essex’s estates until Essex came of age.)

“Whilst I desire to be accessible to the plaints of suppliants, I fear I am becoming obnoxious to you. I commend the needs of that poor man to your kindness, that what my Father granted him by Letters Patent may by your order continue to be allowed him by my men of business.

“I pray God grant your Lordship the life of Nestor.

Your Lordship’s obedient

“Cambridge. Kal. Septemb. 1579.”²

“R. ESSEX.

“I thought, most honoured patron, that my duty to you through my Broughton should not be omitted, but conveyed in a few words, so that I might prove my respect for your Lordship, and leave all the rest of what I had to say to be delivered by the aforesaid messenger.

“Daily on my knees will I pour out prayers to God to grant your Lordship an exceedingly happy life. Farewell. Id. April 1580.

Your Lordship’s obedient

“R. ESSEX.”³

“My supplicatory letters (most honoured patron) which are apt to be tiring to you, immersed as you are in [state] affairs, are now intended to bear witness to my duty to your Lordship, while wishing you most heartily all happiness combined with fulness of honour. Farewell. 4^o Non. Novemb. 1580.

Your Lordship’s obedient

“R. ESSEX.”⁴

Burghley evidently reassured him; for he next wrote,

“Since my letters, most honoured patron, are always welcome to your Lordship, I should be unworthy if I did not attempt to satisfy your wishes in this respect, and lacking in diligence if ever I failed in my duty. So I will beseech God, Best and Greatest, who has hitherto preserved your Lordship, that he may for many years keep you safe, for the good of the State, of your family, and of myself. Farewell.

Your Lordship’s obedient,

“R. ESSEX.”⁵

¹ Latin. Lansdowne MS. 28.60. f.134. Addressed as usual, and docketed “3 Maij 1579. The Erle of Essex to my L. Mr. Bagot desirous to have his sonne [attend?] his L.”

² Latin. Lansdowne MS. 28.64. f.142. Docketed “The Erle of Essex to my L. for the payment of an annuity to one () a poore man.

³ Latin. Lansdowne MS. 33.1. f.2. Docketed “6 April 1581 (sic). The Erle of Essex by Mr. Broughton.” (For the last of the series of Latin letters, 23rd August, 1581, see E.E. Vol. V. p. 60.)

⁴ Latin. Lansdowne. 30 art. 44, f.135. Addressed as usual to his “very good L. and Patron.” Docketed “1580. 4 Novemb. The Erle of Essex to my L. To testify his duty from Cambridg.”

⁵ Latin. Lansdowne MS. 31, 38. f.101. Addressed as above. Docketed “4 Feb. 1580. The Erle of Essex to [my L.] That seeing his letters acceptable to his Lord^s y^t hee [will] not be wanting in y^m.”

In the spring of 1581-2, aged sixteen and a half, when visiting his cousin Henry Earl of Huntingdon, Lord President of York, Essex wrote to Burghley in English:

“ My very good Lord.

“ As I was sorry that your Lordships sudden departure to the Court at my coming from London, hindered me of doing that duty which I was both desirous and ready at your Lordship’s house to have performed, though I came too late: so failing of that opportunity, I would, as soon as I could send by post, recommend my service unto your Lordship by letters. And as your Lordship’s favour to me maketh me not to doubt of the welcome thereof, so by God’s grace I will never fail of that nor any other duty to your Lordship. And so I humbly commit your Lordship to the tuition of the Almighty.

“ York this xii of March 1581.

“ Your Lordship’s assured at command
“ R. ESSEX.”¹

(It was on this occasion that Huntingdon instituted an archery competition:

“ These matches, you shall understand,
The Earl of Essex took in hande
Against the good Earle of Cumberlande,”

which sports were the theme of a “ New Yorkshyre Song.”²

One of the few boyish letters of Essex to Burghley which has been published, was written during another visit to his cousin Huntingdon. (He had taken his degree at Cambridge in the interval.)

“ My very good Lord.

“ I hope your L(ordship) in courtesy will pardon my youth, if I have, through want of experience, in some sort passed the bounds of frugality. I cannot but embrace with duty your L(ordship’s) good counsel, *whose love I have effectually proved, and of whose care of my well doings I am thoroughly well persuaded.* I do beseech your good L(ordship), notwithstanding the lapse of my youth, still to *continue a loving friend unto me*, as I will acknowledge myself in all duty bound to your L(ordship). Thus I humbly commit your L(ordship) to the tuition of the Almighty.

“ York this 13th Dec., 1582.

“ Your L(ordship’s) most humbly at commandment,
“ R. ESSEX.”³

This of itself should have sufficed to show the affectionate terms on which Essex stood with his guardian; and it would hardly be possible for a boy of sixteen to write a more graceful apology for not yet having learnt perfectly to keep within his allowance. But the Hon. W. B. Devereux, in Queen Victoria’s day, introduced it with the words, “ thus early had his prodigal habits begun to develop themselves ”;

¹ Spelling modernised from orig: holog: Lansdowne 34. art. 6. f.15. Unpublished. Addressed “ To the right honourable my very good L. and Patron the L. Burghley L. Highe Treasor^r of England.” Docketed “ 12 Martij. 1581. The Earle of Essex to my L. Sends his respects to his Lordsh^p from York.”

² Street ballad, 1582. In extenso, E.E. V, pp. 113-117.

³ Lansdowne MS. 36. 12. (Devereux’s *Earls of Essex*, 1853, Vol. I, p. 171). Italics now added.

and "prodigal" Essex has remained ever since in "standard" history.¹ Not only for himself but for those in his service, his tutor, for example, he was obliged to plead for money actually due.² And in an undated letter to Burghley he appeals on behalf of his uncle:

"Forasmuch as it is characteristic of your great affection for me (most honoured of men) to grant a favourable hearing to my prayers for others, you will listen, most kindly to my requests for myself and my uncle. I have heard from several quarters, that my uncle who lives at Lamphey, my house in Wales,³ has hitherto kept it in repair at his own expense: a great load of expense being incurred from other sources; and so I beg and pray your Lordship that in this or any other matter as to which he may crave your aid, for the love that you usually bear me, you deign not to fail him.

"I implore of God, Best and Greatest, in prayer that he will keep you safe and free from harm.

Your Lordship's obedient

"R. ESSEX."⁴

George Devereux affected devotion to his nephew; but though Essex in later life followed his father's example of paying George's debts, this evoked no gratitude, only the mysterious antagonism which base natures cherish against their benefactors. That two brothers, born and bred alike, could be so entirely different as Walter, Earl of Essex and George Devereux,—one alert in mind, and eager to give and serve; the other as limited in intellect as unbounded in egoism,—indicates that personal character and not environment determines each man's actions. That Robert, Earl of Essex was subject to what Philip Sidney in another connection had called "the only disadvantage of honest hearts, credulity,"—that he credited all his relations with a standard of honour similar to his own,—was a trait lasting up to the end; and it was to contribute to his fall.⁵

In the interpretation of history, and in foreseeing what England's adversaries intended to accomplish, few were to prove so astute as Essex when he came into office. We will find him, while still under thirty, recognised by one of the most accomplished foreign diplomatists as "great and wise" in his comprehension of European politics. But in personal matters he was notoriously vulnerable to appeals to his generosity and compassion. Examples hitherto buried in oblivion, (discovered

¹ See E.E. VI, pp. 39-40 for origin of this fallacy.

² In the *Broughton Devereux Papers*, *Camden Miscell.* XIII, 1924, p. 23, is a letter of Essex, York, 10 July, 1583, reminding Broughton that his tutor, "Mr. Wright" had "received nothing of his annuity since my coming into Yorkshire. I do assure myself that if you will pay him, it will not be disliked." Essex's consideration for others in the matter of prompt payment was to become so well known as to be put on the Elizabethan stage (as an example to other noblemen).

³ "Lamphey in Wallia." Originally palace of the Bishops of St. Davids. It is now a ruin.

⁴ Latin. Lansdowne 30. art. 42. f.131. Damp-stained. Some connecting words illegible, and supplied according to the sense. Addressed as usual; and docketed "The Erle of Essex to my L. The great decay of his L. howse of Landfey in Wales."

⁵ The present writer is the first to examine into Essex's money affairs, and will be publishing many hitherto unknown particulars of his great generosity to many poor and obscure persons; as well as of his contributions to the defence of the realm.

by the present writer during prolonged examinations of private MSS) will appear in their places. Meanwhile, these letters from Cambridge, between the ages of ten and fifteen, are a forecast of what Essex was afterwards to be. They and an epistle of Andrew Willet to "Illustrissimo Comiti Essexio, nobili literato, studiosorum omnium Macaenati et patrono Optimo" have slept unnoticed.¹ Willet sets forth how, in Essex's boyhood, his companions at Cambridge recognised in him "virtue, piety, counsel and strength"; and looked forward with eager "expectation" to the services he would render to His Queen and Country.² But from his boyhood at Cambridge, up to the very last on the scaffold (when he lacked even the gold coin which custom bade a nobleman give to his own executioner), trouble about money pursued him. No man was more thoughtful for others, and few have been so ill-requited. Not his own "prodigality" but other peoples' delays were frequently cause of inconvenience:

"Mr. Broughton" (wrote Essex), "I have sent this bearer unto you upon very earnest occasion to supply my want. I have not yet, according to my L(ord) of Huntingdon's promise, received my allowance for the last quarter whereupon I am driven to be behind-hand. I therefore desire you to help me in this present with xlⁱⁱ [£40] to supply me necessary wants here, else I shall be driven to go up and seek my allowance myself."³

As he afterwards reminded his friends, his early inclinations were studious and contemplative; and at first he hesitated to attach himself to the Court, but chose rather to live in Pembrokeshire at Lamphey with his uncle. Thence on "this XXV of January 1584" (85 n.s.) he wrote to ask Richard Broughton in London to get his tailor "with as much speed as he can to make me two suits of apparel," and send them, with "a long cloak."⁴ But his preference for the country was disapproved by his mother. As a specimen of the ceremony with which it was etiquette to address

¹ B.M. 637. d. 32. See E.E. Vol. III. p. 60, and notes 1 and 2.

² Dedic. to "An Harmonie upon the First Book of Samuel," etc. B.M. 637. d. 32.

Essex's career will be unfolded in Vols. VI to IX of the present History. See E.E. Vol. III, p. 50, note 1, as to the unreliability of the D.N.B. article Devercux, Robert, 2nd Earl of Essex.

³ "I am further to desire you to further the cause of my Chaplain, Bate, on whom I have bestowed the parsonage of Baxterley, that he may have my presentation confirmed by the feoffes. Thus with my hearty commendations to yourself and all at Blithfield, I bid you farewell. This xxijth of July, 1583. Yours R. Essex."

Spelling modernised from *Broughton Devereux Papers*, Camden Miscell: XIII. (1924.) p. 23. In the same publication, p. 22, is a hasty note about St. George's Day festivities, in which later in life as a Knight of the Garter he was destined to play a conspicuous part:

"Mr. Broughton, I received your letters by my man Anthony, by the which I perceive you have gotten the Lords consents for my coming up to London, and that you will send your man and horses against St. George's Day. I pray you, against I come up, let me have one very fair suit of apparel . . . satin doublet, velvet hose, jerkin of crimson laid on with silver lace, with my footcloth, my mens liveries, etc." [Crimson and silver were the Devereux armorial colours. E.M.T.] "Thus with my hearty commendations to your partner I end. In haste, going to bed, this XVth of April 1581. Yours assured R. Essex."

"I will send some stuff this week into London which you may look for on Friday by Hobson the Carrier of Cambridge."

Spelling modernised from op. cit. Editor states that Hobson died aged 87 in 1631 (outliving Essex by 30 years).

⁴ *Broughton's Devereux Papers*, Camden Miscell: N.S. XIII. p. 24.

a parent, take an unpublished letter, written when Essex was eighteen years and five months old:

"To the right honourable my very good Lady and mother the Countesse of Leicester:¹
My very good Lady and mother

As I finde by your ladyships displeasure concaved, that I am thought in sorte to have offended, so I desire to deliver myself ether wholy or in some parte from the same faulfe: which some will hardly terme undutifullnes to your Ladyship, others carelesnes of my owne good, and many thinke me inconsiderate in not makinge your Ladyship more acquainted with my determinacions.

The name of undutifullnes as a son I utterly abhorre; my purposed course to do well I hope shall deliver me from the suspicion of carelesnes of mine own estate; and yf in your Ladyship's wise censure I be thought inconsiderate, I pleade as a yonge man pardon for that fault, whereto of all others our age is most subiect.²

And yf ether by sorow for that which is past, or duty hereafter, I may repaire that which your Ladyship may thinkie by desert is impaired I shall thinke myself (as much for any thinge in this worlde) most happy.

Thus humbly craving your Ladyships most honourable and happy estate.

Lanfey this XII of April 1585.

Your Ladyships most obedient Sonne

R. ESSEX.

"I have returned this berer according to your Ladyships commaundment every way to be used at your Ladyships honourable pleasure."

In the early autumn he "fell into a distress," (the nature of which is not defined;) and "was almost drowned in going a hunting in September."³

Soon the course of European events was to draw him into public affairs from which he was never afterwards to escape. We have seen how when aged not quite ten, he had been presented with his pedigree in Latin verses, to impress upon him how many and great were his obligations never to "derogate" from the honour of his ancestors.⁴ His double descent from King Edward III, his near relationship to Queen Elizabeth, and his distant connection with Mary Queen of Scots, Philip of Spain, and Dom Antonio, were known both at home and abroad,⁵ and during fifteen eventful years he was to be the most prominent English nobleman of the younger generation. Not, as now commonly alleged, conspicuous chiefly for foolish philandering with ladies royal and otherwise, but for performing with dignity and distinction a succession of national services, in circumstances which after his downfall were deliberately distorted, but which in the present History will be restored for the first time to their original proportions. The popular ballad which, when he was fourteen years of age, described him as giving his good will to his country, is significant;⁶ and the reasons why he evoked hearty admiration from the people, but incurred deadly jealousy from some of his own "friends" and relations, will be analysed when we come to the year 1601, and can then look back upon his whole career.

¹ Holog: B.M. Add: MS. 32092 (15). Original spelling; except the abbreviated words expanded. Essex's orthography was less different from our own than that of the average courtier of his time.

² The word "unto" he has here crossed out as superfluous.

³ Unpublished MS annotation on his horoscope. Facsimile forthcoming.

⁴ Edward Waterhouse to him, 1576. E.E. Vol. III. pp. 46-49.

⁵ Shown in tabular pedigree, E.E. Vol. VI. ⁶ Ante, p. 117.

APPENDIX A.

THE EARL OF ESSEX'S MORALS: A "STANDARD" ANECDOTE EXAMINED.

In 1851, in the Chetham Society's volume "*Cardinal Allen's Defence*," etc., etc. (E.E., under date, 1587), the editor, Thomas Heywood, F.S.A., after touching upon the alleged susceptibility of Robert Earl of Essex where women were concerned, added (p. xv) the following note:

"(2) Von Raumer's *Historisches Taschenbuch* n.f. I.B. The visit of Truchess's wife, the beautiful Agnes de Mansfeldt, to London, her lodging with Essex, and Elizabeth's indignation, deserve to be transferred from this account of the ex-Archbishop of Cologne to our own histories."

In the 85 years since this paragraph was printed, much has been written as to Essex's supposed amorous misdemeanours; but apparently the "*Historisches Taschenbuch*" of F. von Raumer has never been translated. Let us see what are the happenings as to the wife of the Elector of Cologne which "deserve to be transferred . . . to our own histories."¹ Before plunging into the picturesque narrative, the English reader may be reminded that Electoral Princes, under the Holy Roman Empire (Germanic), were those entitled to a vote at the election of the Emperor. As the Electors of Cologne were also Archbishops, the Electoral succession was not from father to son but oftener from uncle to nephew. After the Elector of Cologne, Gebhard Truchess, joined the Protestant Church, when his marriage was announced, the Emperor and every Catholic derided his alleged spiritual reasons for rebellion against Rome.

"Gebhard," dispossessed as Elector of Cologne, "gave over the remainder of his army to the States General," says Von Raumer, "and repaired to the Court of William of Orange, at Delft (26 April); who offered him and his [wife] Agnes a friendly welcome, and a suitable establishment at the Hague. . . ."

"Soon after" this, the Prince of Orange was murdered; "July 10, 1584." The Elector walked in the funeral procession as one of the chief mourners, escorting Count Maurice of Nassau, the late Prince's second son. Immediately afterwards, the Elector, "the poor forsaken one," begged the assistance of the Queen of England,

"whom the persecuted Protestant Church always considered as its protectress. He wrote her an imploring letter; but although he received 2000 thalers from the British Minister, he was severely reprimanded in a letter from the maiden Queen, for the unworthy motives of his attempts at Reformation. [Elector] Truchess declared in his petition that he 'had left the Roman pagan worship in order to save his and his people's consciences, and that he would surely have succeeded . . . if help had not been refused him on all sides.'

As against this he received the following answer which showed traces of annoyance and irritation:

¹ From "*Historisches Taschenbuch (Neu ausgegeben von Friedrich von Raumer. Neue Folge. Jahre I. (1840).* Part of Item I: "Gebhard Truchess von Waldburg, Kurfürst und Erzbischof von Köln. Von F. W. Berthold." Sechtes Capitel, pp. 69-73. B.M. P.P. 3625).

" 'Gebhard Truchsess, my cousin, I have heard with great gratification of your intention and good will to improve Religion in your Electorate; but all the more did I regret to hear the news of your marriage, which clearly proved that you were not inspired by the spirit of Faith, but rather by the carnal lust of the world. Your failure was to be foreseen by all those in a position to judge; for a basic idea which is sensual and not spiritual can have no firm foundation.

" 'Do not lament therefore that you have been forsaken by others, but rather that through your disorderly behaviour you have compelled them to abandon you. I regret your misfortune all the more, as I see no means of comforting you. You can only find comfort within yourself in your misfortune, displaying now as much patience as you should have displayed wisdom in your actions.

" 'With regard to your wish to come to London, in order to live here, certain reasons prevent me from acceding (to your request) . . . I pray God, our Lord, to hold you, my cousin, in His Holy Protection.

" After receiving this humiliating letter, and some British alms, the unfortunate man took another step which had still more humiliating results. The beautiful and charming Agnes decided, without any comprehension of the feminine nature, to go in person to England, in order as she supposed, to soften the sisterly heart with the tears of misfortune. The tearful eyes of a lovely woman might well have won over a Stuart, but it was hardly to be expected that the prudish guardian of chastity on the throne, who already at that moment was in process of preparing a tragic fate for a beautiful and much to be pitied sister—Mary (Queen of Scots)—would be merciful to the scandalous seductress of a man! Nevertheless the intention of the lady was not to crave the military assistance of the Queen in the affair of her husband, but rather, a generous welcome in her kingdom. With this intention, she embarked in Holland, and after a heavy gale—a bad omen—she arrived in London.

" Very thoughtlessly, yet showing certain feminine intuition, Agnes immediately appealed to Elizabeth's powerful favorite the Earl of Essex, so as to obtain through him the protection of his friend and Royal Mistress.

" The chivalrous gentleman, perchance in real compassion for the fate of the unhappy lady, or because he considered himself, as a knight, in duty bound to show courtesy to a stranger of foreign extraction, *or even perhaps for other motives*, took her into his house, prepared an apartment for her, and offered all comforts to the world-renowned beauty; so that she might recover from the exhaustions of the sea-voyage.

" Thus, Agnes dwelt two whole days in Essex's residence, without repairing to Elizabeth's Court which sojourned just then at Hampton Court (Palace). The Virgin-Queen, who did not believe that the principles of the German lady were of the most virtuous, was inevitably informed of the nocturnal conferences of her favourite with the lady from oversea.

" With her narrow views of morality, and obsessed with restlessness and jealousy, she dispatched Master Smith to the Earl, with the order forthwith to send the German woman away from his house; and she communicated her displeasure to the lady through the above-mentioned messenger; namely 'that the Countess had taken upon herself to enter her Kingdom without permission, although the Queen had given (the Elector) Gebhard to understand what her manner of thinking was. In view of the bann of the Emperor, she would require her to leave the country with all possible speed.'

" This harsh command may have been issued for one or more reasons: moral displeasure over a marriage of which one (contracting) party had abandoned his Archbishopric, and the other, her convent: parsimony, not to impose on her Court the costs for maintenance of this pair.

"None the less, jealousy was surely the main contributory cause, as she could not otherwise explain the Earl's eager politeness than by the fact that he had been subjugated by Agnes's wonderful and renowned beauty.

"Elizabeth took the affair deeply to heart, and refused to see the Earl till the lady had departed. The favorite, in danger of falling into disgrace, was compelled to forsake his charming protégée; who, after seeing nothing else of London except the house of this Earl, was forthwith conducted, by Smith, albeit free of cost, to the port. As balm for the pain and humiliation [of dismissal] she was presented, before embarking, with a gift of 1000 Florins."

If by "Smith," Secretary Sir Thomas Smith is intended, he could not have escorted the Electress "to the port" in 1584, as he had been dead five years.

Before advising that this German anecdote of "the beautiful Agnes . . . her lodging with Essex, and Elizabeth's indignation" should be "transferred to our own histories," Thomas Heywood, F.S.A., ought to have examined the State Papers Foreign, in our Record Office, bearing on the Elector's actual affairs. Also he might with advantage have considered dates. It would then have been manifest that even if the Electress did come to London in the summer of 1584, whosoever she might have chosen as her champion, it could not have been Robert Earl of Essex.

Although the "knightly spirit" ascribed to him had early shown itself even in his childhood, in eager anxiety to aid "the distressed," he was not yet in 1584 a knight. Nor did he possess a London house at which he could have entertained "beautiful Agnes." He was not in London at the time; nor was he then a "powerful favorite," or a favourite at all; nor did he hold office at the Court until three years later.

In 1586, while General of the English Horse in the Low Countries, we find him going by night with the Earl of Leicester, and with "the Elector Truchsess," to consider how to capture the Zutphen forts. But not until after Leicester's death in September, 1588, did Essex begin that systematic giving of hospitality to foreigners which made him "renowned not only in England but also in Germany."¹ It was not in 1584 but in 1595 that a German envoy alluded to him as one of the two most powerful of the Queen's Councillors (the other being Lord Burghley).

At the time the Elector's wife is alleged by F. Von Raumer to have relied on Essex as the "powerful favorite," Essex—aged seventeen and threequarters, still far from the "perilous greatness of a favorite,"—was living in "contemplative retirement" and "bookish" seclusion, with his uncle George Devereux, in the ancient palace of "Lantfey" (now Lamphey) in Wales.²

¹ Statement of Baron Breuning von Buchenbach; given later, under date. ² Ib.

QUEEN ELIZABETH AND THE ELECTOR OF COLOGNE, 1584.

Having seen in F. von Raumer's "*Historisches Taschenbuch*" the alleged rage of Queen Elizabeth against the Elector of Cologne and his wife, and the Earl of Essex,—a story hitherto neither challenged nor examined,—let us consult the authentic correspondence of the Elector Truchsess.

In the *Calendar of State Papers Foreign*, for 1584-85; including the Germanic States, and also the volume for 1585-86, there does not appear to be, from first to last, any reference to a visit of the Elector's wife. Nor does it figure in the "*Annales*" of John Stow, who lived in London, and habitually took note of the arrival, entertainment, and departure of foreign travellers of distinction.

The episode is set by Von Raumer in the summer of 1584, immediately after the assassination of the Prince of Orange. The Prince was murdered in July. The Elector's appeal to the Queen of England for aid is dated 6th October, 1584,—i.e. 26th September English style (Cal: S.P.F., p. 76). He does not allude to any letter received from Her Majesty; and no draft or copy of such an effusion as Von Raumer quotes can be discovered in the Record Office. This is not necessarily to say that it was never written; but the tone of the Elector's actual communication makes it very unlikely that he regarded himself as under the Queen's displeasure.

His correspondence with her, mostly through Secretary Davison, is that of one relying upon her assistance. From the Queen herself there is no draft of a letter to him until November 1585. It contains no reproaches. She commends him to the Earl of Leicester, her Commander-in-Chief in the Low Countries, just commissioned, and represents herself as desiring most earnestly to see the Elector restored to the state and prosperity she considers he well deserves.¹

Previously in 1584 (13th December) Ortell had written to Secretary Walsingham that the letter sent for the Elector had been lost at sea.² On the 26th December 1584, when Davison informed the Elector that no answer had come yet from Her Majesty, he added that he doubted not but in the end her reply would give good satisfaction.³ On February 4th (January 25th o.s.) the Elector thanked the Queen direct for money received,⁴ his acknowledgments being in terms which do not hint at any element of discord.

The fashion of publishing books of popular History merely on the authority of the historian, without contemporary references, has been fertile in errors. In the ensuing volumes many hitherto applauded anecdotes and scandals will be seen collapsing under the test of dates and documents. Especially do the alleged amorous dallings of Robert Earl of Essex dwindle. Readers need not complain of the clearing away of the hoary fictions; for they will find Essex's career, both public and private not only "stranger than fiction" but far more interesting.

¹ Cal: S.P.F. 1585-86. p. 188, see *Leycester Correspondence*. ² Ib. 1584-85. p. 188.

³ Ib. p. 204. ⁴ Ib. p. 260.

LORD LEICESTER'S HOSPITAL AT WARWICK:

Founded by Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, K.G., P.C., Master of the Horse:

For Twelve Poor Men "hereafter maimed or hurt in the Wars, in the service of the Queen's Majesty, her heirs and successors."

(Photograph, Harold Baker, Birmingham).

Lord Leicester's bequest has continued in operation through the centuries: the Master and Brethren being nominated by his nearest representative, who today is Lord De L'Isle and Dudley of Penshurst Place, Kent.

It was stipulated by Leicester that special preference be given to such soldiers "as shall be undeviating in the conduct or leading of us or our Heirs, or the servants and tenants of us and our heirs." The Brethren were to be soldiers from Warwick, Kenilworth, Stratford-upon-Avon, Wotton-under-Edge, and Earlingham.

If there were not twelve soldiers in need of a home, other poor men could be accepted, provided they were of good character. Any breaches of morality were to be punished by expulsion of the offending Brother, and there were severe penalties for brawling or even for discourteous words.

The Master selected by Lord Leicester was Cartwright, usually now classed as a violent "Puritan." But he must have joined the Established Church on becoming Master of this Hospital; for Rule II stipulates that the Master before being inducted must take the oath of the Queen's Supremacy "mentioned in the Statute made in the first year of our Sovereign Lady the Queen's Majesty that now is." (See E.E., Vol. V, p. 2, for the exact terms of that Oath.)

It was to be sworn "in the Hall of the said Hospital, in the presence of the Recorder of Warwick, . . . and of all or the greater part of the Brethren."

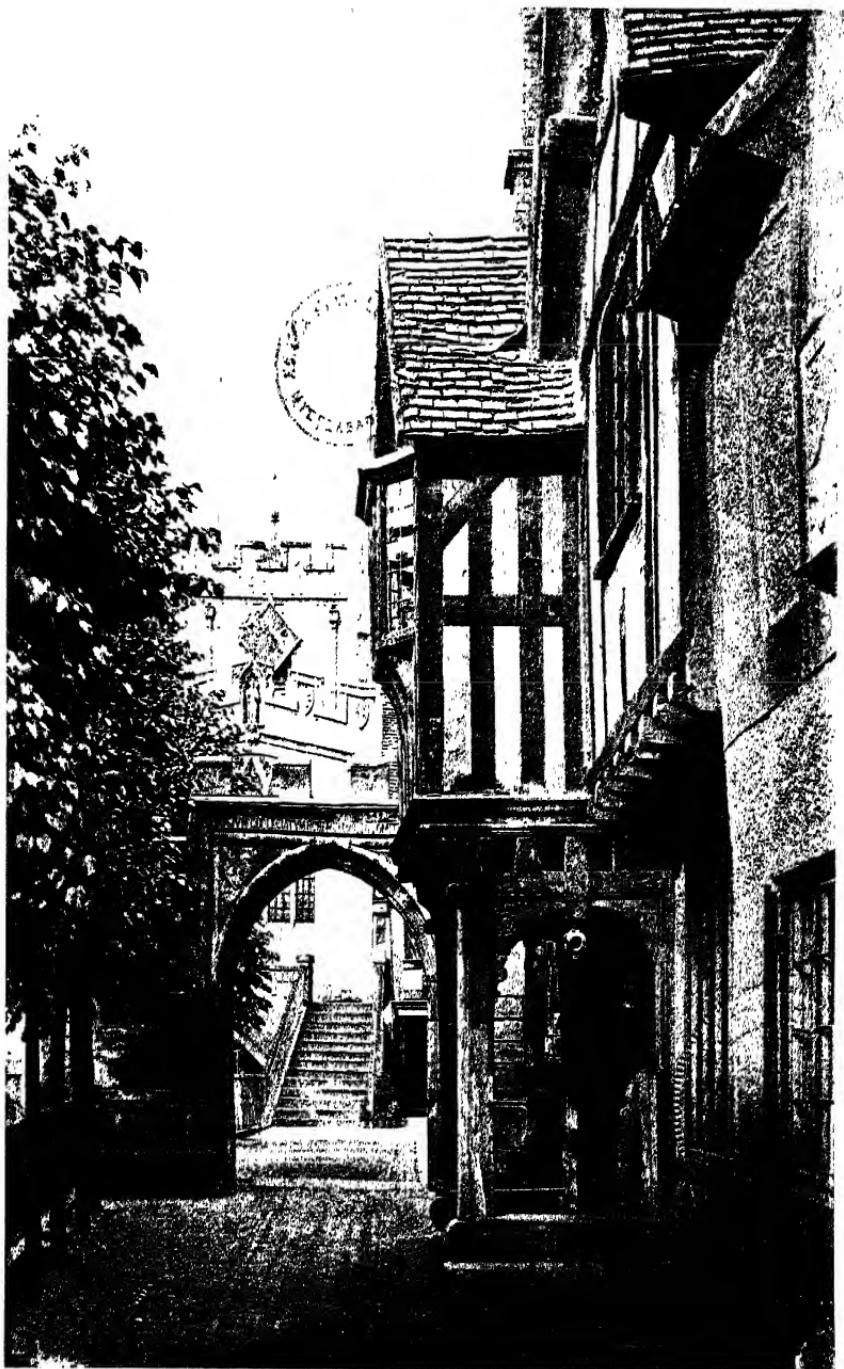
Information from Lord De L'Isle and Dudley (1935), quoting "*A Copy of the Ordinances, Statutes and Rules, made for the Order and Government of the Hospital in the Town of Warwick, called 'The Hospital of Robert Earl of Leicester in Warwick.' Printed only for the use of the Foundations. Warwick. Printed by Henry Cooke. MDCCXL.*"

The XXX Statutes, signed by Leicester, provide against various contingencies; and he willed that after his death the Mastership should go to the Vicar of St. Mary's Church, Warwick (where Leicester's ancestors the Beauchamp Earls of Warwick were buried; and where his son's tomb and his own and that of his brother Ambrose Earl of Warwick were yet to be).

The Brethren attended public service in that Church; and the Statutes enacted that in the Hospital they were to pray daily for the Sovereign, Nobility, Councillors, Clergy, and Commons of the Realm, and for God's guidance for each and all.

The government of the Hospital today is still the same as at the time of the foundation. Although the benevolence of Leicester has so long outlived him in the most practical way, our historians continue to heap him with obloquy, based on the 1584 and 1585 libels, which ignore the Hospital, and outrageously represent as an oppressor of the poor the very man whom his intimates described as ready to help in good work any persons who showed a "spark of virtue or honesty."

(11) E. M. Tenison's "*Elizabethan England*," III. 1. 6.



PART III.

“*Ambitious, politic, and valiant.*”

CHAPTER I.

“IF YOUR MAJESTY HAD ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND.”

SECTION 6.

“*Notoriously slanderous and hateful.*”

(*Libels against the Earl of Leicester, 1584 and 1585*).

“. . . never lyved subject more faythfull, more loyall, nor more trewly loved his prince than I have ever done him Ma[jes]t[ie], from the fyrist day of my serving her. . . .”

Robert Earl of Leicester, 30 January, 1581-2.

Hitherto unknown holograph Will. Longleat Dudley MSS.

“. . . La Vie Abominable, Ruses, Trahisons, Meurtres, Impostures, empoisonments, paillardises, Atheisms, . . . de my Lord de Lecestre, Machiaveliste, contre l'honneur de Dieu, la Majeste de la Royne d'Angleterre sa Princesse. . . .”

Title-page of anonymous libel, 1585, (E.E., p. 143).

“. . . her right trusty and well-beloved cousin the Earl of Leicester, one of her principal noblemen and chief Counsellors of Estate. . . . Her Majesty in her own clear knowledge doth declare and testify his innocencie to all the world.”

Proclamation, XX June, 1585, Chaderton MS., fol: 29^b.

Peck's “*Desiderata Curiosa*,” No. VI, p. 158.

“. . . that before all things my executor . . . do see my debts as speedily paid as possible, especially to the poorest and most needy persons, as artificers, if any chance to be left unpaid. . . .”

Hitherto unknown holograph Will of Robert Earl of Leicester.

30 Jan: 1581(2). Longleat Dudley MSS.

“. . . your honourable Lordship hath such a zeal to profit the poor, . . . to comfort the careful, to help the needy, and to mind the miserable.”

Thomas Lupton to Robert Earl of Leicester.

Longleat Dudley MSS., Vol. III, ff. 206-9.

“. . . my devoted service, and great love I have ever borne him.”

Sir Philip Sidney, of the Earl of Leicester. 1586. His Will Orig: P.C.C., 57.

“TO COMFORT MY SORROWFUL WIFE.”

On the 31st of July, 1584, Lord Leicester wrote to William Davison of the death of “my young son, who was one of the greatest comforts I had in this transitory world.”

Again, on the 2nd of August: “Cousen Davison, . . . I have been absent these fifteen days to comfort my sorrowful wife for the loss of my only little son, whom God has lately taken from us.”¹

In Holinshed's *Chronicles of England* it is related how on the 19th of July, “Robert baron of Denbigh, the onlie sonne and heir of Robert Earle of Leicester departed this mortall life, being then of the age of three yeares and somewhat more.”

The funeral service was at Wanstead, “on the first of August; and, after, his bodie was conveied to Warwike, and there in the chappell of Richard Beauchampe Earle of Warwike his ancestor, honorablie intoomed, on the one and twentieth of October. In memorie of whom (but not as an epicedium, nor yet an epitaph,) these verses of fit invention and devise may well be used:—

O puer, o expressa patrum sed maior imago.
Nunc bona cum domino spes tumulta iacet.
Sic rosa, sic tenerae sulco resecantur aristae;
Candida sic primo lilia vere cadunt.”²

[“Boy! Express image of your fathers, but greater.
Bright hope now lives entombed with its Lord.
Thus the rose, thus the tender ears of wheat are cut in the furrow;
Thus fall the white lilies in the early spring.”]

¹ *Cal. S.P. Scot., M.Q. of Scots.* Vol. VII, 1913, pp. 244, 248.

² Anno 1584. Ed: 1808. Vol. IV. p. 548. For his actual epitaph, see E.E., p. 176.

LAST HALF-PAGE OF THE HOLOGRAPH WILL OF
ROBERT, EARL OF LEICESTER, 1581(2).

From the original in the Dudley MSS in possession of the Marquess of Bath, K.G.

All in Lord Leicester's own hand, this Will of 1581-2 covers eleven pages of elephant-folio paper; almost every sentence affording an unconscious contradiction to the grotesque slanders in the subsequent libels of 1584 and 1585.

Defining his faith, duty, and principles, and his feelings towards "the Queen's Majesty"; and "nxct" his "dear wife"; and his little son Lord Denbigh; his brother the Earl of Warwick, his stepson and stepdaughter of the Earl of Essex and Lady Dorothy Devereux; his nephew Sir Philip Sidney; his Hospital; his creditors, etc., it will ultimately be published in extenso by the present writer; but meanwhile the most significant passages have been extracted for "*Elizabethan England*," Vols. II, III, IV, V.

In 1925 in "*Mr. Secretary Walsingham and the Policy of Queen Elizabeth*," Dr. Conyers Read gave new life to the pseudo-Leicester, an arrogant egoist who disdained friends and wished all men to be his "slaves."

Though many testimonies to Leicester's generosity and graciousness, from persons who experienced his help, are accessible, the poison-fumes of the anonymous libels still infect even writers who wish to be fair. As to Leicester's servants, his own words are now first published (the term "servant" in those days being of wide application): "*Lastely I may not forgett my trew & fayethfull Servants who have spent some their tyme & youth w[i]t[h] me and some their goodes & some both.* Among w[hi]che these y^t follow I spetually remember" [now comes the portion reproduced]

"and so wyll & bequeth these anuyties & gyftes following.

Imprmis to Edmund Care [Carey] sonne to

my L. of Hunsdon, I give & bequeth XX^{li} a yere during his lyffe.

Rychard Knollys my wyves broth^r. I gyve XX^{li} a yere During his lyffe.

Harry Isleley my kinsm^a I gyve XX^{li} a yere during his lyffe.

Arthur Highm[?] - X^{li} a yere during his lyffe.

Geo Vaus - - - VI^{li} xii^{is} viii^d.

Rychard browen to have his fee & keping of leyse howse during his lyffe.

Ambros Waler - - - X^{li} a yere during his life.

Rafe more - - - X^{li} a yere during his life.

ferdinando Rychardson to have XX mark a yere during his lyfe yf
he doe remayn to serve my wyfe or my sonne.

I give & bequeath to all my Servantes y^t ar in ordynary & receave wages
a hole yeres wages a pece.

I gyve & bequeth to Ales Dygby wydowe during hir lyffe XX^{li} a yere.

I gyve & bequeth to Brigitte fettiplace my wyves mayd one Cl^d [$\text{£}100$].

I gyve and bequeth to Lettyce Barrett hir mayd also one Cl^d.

any others forgotten I leave to ye good consideracon of my Executrix.

R. LEYCESTER."

The much larger purchasing power of money then than now is rated so variously by different authorities that it would be unwise to try and give exact modern equivalents for these sums. The point is that Lord Leicester's dealings are taken in the present History direct from his own words, and those of persons concerned; whereas hitherto current estimates in general histories, from Camden onwards, have been influenced by the anonymous libels.

THE
COPIE OF A
LETTER, WRITTEN BY A
MASTER OF ARTS OF CAMBRIGE,
TO HIS FRIEND IN LONDON; CON-
cerning some talke past of late betwven two wro-
shipful and gracie men, about the present state, and
some procedinges of the Erle of Leycester and
his friendes in England.

CONCEYVED, SPOKEN
and publyshed, vvyth most earnest profes-
sion of al duetyful god vvyll and affe-
ction, tovwardes her most excellent Ma-
jesty, and the Realm, for vvhose good onely it is
made common to many.

A
Iob. Cap. 20. Vers. 27. 82.70
Reuelabunt coeli iniquitatem eius, & terra conserget
aduersum.

The heauens shal reueile the vvicked mans iniqui-
tie, and the earth shal stand vp to beare vvitnes-
s agaynst hym.

ANNO M. D. LXXXIII.

*Title page of libel against "the Erle of Leycester,"
from a copy now at Oxford, of which he was Chancellor for quarter of a century.*

NOTE

"La Vie Abominable" is garnished with a grotesque wood-cut in which Lord Leicester's famous badge of the "Bear with the Ragged Staff" is clumsily caricatured. Muzzled, and deprived of its staff, the bear is worried by hounds; while a monkey on horseback threatens it with a three-stringed whip. A hand above brandishes a thunderbolt. A crow waits close by; presumably to feed on the bear's corpse: and the doggerel underneath explains that the bear, "*rempli de Cruauté*," is

*"le Comte inhumain le Comte de Lecestre,
Qui surpassé les Ours par sa ferocité."*

Leicester's open-handed generosity and his graciousness being renowned, this outburst had not much influence at the time. But the postmortem power of the anonymous vituperations has been extraordinary. The present work, however, should terminate for ever (in all reasonable minds) the customary blind enslavement to the libels. In the previous E.E. volumes, special points in the "*Copie of a Letter*" and the "*Vie Abominable*" have already been dealt with: Vol. II, pp. 66-72; Vol. III. pp. 151-166; Vol. IV, pp. 153-159.

DISCOVR S DE
LA VIE ABO.

MINABLE, RVSES, TRAHISONS, MEVRRES, IMPOSTURES, empoisonnemens, paillardises, Atheismes, & autres tres iniques conuersations, des quelles a vte & vse iournellement le my Lorde de LECESTRE Machiaueliste, contre Phonneur de Dieu, la Maiesté de la Royne d'Angleterre sa Princesse, & toute la Republique Chrestienne.

*Traduit d'Anglois en Frangois & mis en forme de Discouer auquel le Legiste, le Gentilhomme, & l'Escolier sont introduits pour la plus facile declara-
tion du present Discours.*

M. D. LXXXV.

Title page of French translation of "Copie of a Leter," &c.

Observe contrast in title between this and the foregoing libel.

The circumstances of both publications, issued without name of printer or place of printing, are fully analysed in the ensuing section. For the identity of the translator, see "Elizabethan England," Vol. V, pp. 186-187.

For title-page and contents of the third libel, in Latin, which is not (as stated in the D.N.B.,) a "translation" of the others, but a different composition, see E.E., pp. 160-169.

"MONEY OWING TO ENGLISHMEN."

The Spanish Ambassador's Notes on some of King Philip's Pensioners.

Charles Arundel, so highly praised by the author of "*La Vie Abominable . . . du Comte de Leycester*," appears in the correspondence of King Philip with Don Bernardino de Mendoza.¹ Mendoza for a while did not trust Charles Arundel, and thought he might be playing a double game.² That all doubts were resolved is clear from his reappearance as a Spanish pensioner in December 1586. His name is set down twice over, both for a pension and a grant, in the Ambassador's list of "money owing to Englishmen for their allowance up to the end of the year 1586."

"Lord Paget, Baron Beautesart, from the 24 March 1586 to the end of December.

100 crowns a month . . .	925.	46.	9
Charles Paget, 8 months and 8 days at 50 crowns a month . . .	412.	52.	4
<i>Charles Arundel</i> , 8 months and 23 days at 50 crowns a month . . .	699.	23.	7
Thomas Throckmorton, 8 months and 8 days at 40 crowns a month . . .	442.	28.	8
Thomas Morgan, 1 month at 40 crowns a month . . .	40.	0.	0
Earl of Westmorland, 26 days at 100 crowns a month . . .	83.	50.	7
<i>Charles Arundel</i> has also to receive as a grant in aid from His Majesty . . .	500.	0.	0
			3,154. 21. 11

Three thousand one hundred and fifty-four broad pistole crowns, twenty-one sueldos and eleven diners. December 1586."

King Philip from Madrid in January 1588 n.s. wrote to Don Bernardino de Mendoza:³

"I learn by letter of 27th December that Charles Arundel has died of lethargy (*modorra*) and that you had been obliged to assist him with money for his maintenance during his last illness . . . and as the severity of his malady prevented him from giving you a bill for the money so provided, and you had also to find the money for his funeral . . . I approve of the sum so expended being vouched for by your certificate only, receipts being furnished by the English doctor who attended him, and by his servant for the sums paid to them through his confessor the English Jesuit Father Thomas. You may therefore credit yourself with these amounts . . ."

¹Cal: S.P. Spanish (Simancas). Vol. III. Eliz.: 1580-86. No. 398. p. 540.

²Ib: No. 43. p. 375.

³Cal: S.P. Spanish III. No. 534. p. 690. Ib: p. 187.

PART III.

“*Ambitious, Politic, and Valiant.*”

CHAPTER I.

“IF YOUR MAJESTY HAD ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND.”

SECTION 6.

“*Notoriously slanderous and hateful.*”

(*Libels against the Earl of Leicester, 1584 and 1585*).

“*ALUMNIES and defamations, without any distinction of truth or falsehood, are ever greedily entertained and as greedily communicated,*” wrote Strada, in “*De Bello Belgico*,” describing how preachers according to the “*Geneva mode*” had been welcomed by audiences “*who clapped their hands as if they had been in a play-house*” when the Pope was “*railed against*” by mountebanks.¹

It was, however, more than mere rhetorical “*juggling*” of preachers which had caused one of the late Emperor Charles’s Privy Councillors, William of Nassau, Prince of Orange, to hazard his all and lead a rebellion.² But the saying of Father Famianus Strada is of wide applicability: “*Calumnies and defamations*” against the morals of Queen Elizabeth were circulated in hope that the scandals would be “*greedily communicated*”; and that the Queen would appear as a tool in the hands of a “*traitor*,” “*atheist*,” “*poisoner*” and “*Machiavelliste*.”

The libels reproached Leicester not only as a monster of vice but an upstart. Sir Philip Sidney retorted that the “*goosequill*” could know little about Leicester or England if he did not know the “*palpable*” facts as to his family and position. So often are Elizabethan utterances now misread that in a standard “*Life of Sir Philip Sidney*” (Cambridge, 1915,) Sidney is represented as unable to answer the charges against his uncle’s character; and as having only defended his claim to noble birth.³ But the point of Sidney’s genealogical protest is that the anonymous

¹ Lib. V. p. 117. Englished by Sir R. Stapylton. 1650. Referring to events of 1566.

² See the Prince’s Declarations. E.E. Vol. II. p. 3, 13-16.

³ This resembles the mistake of the editor of the 1904 reprint: (pp. x-xi) “It is characteristic of the writer and his times that he does not attempt to answer any of the charges made against his uncle, but confines himself to the vindication of the lineage of his maternal ancestors.”

pamphleteer was either so ignorant that his word could have no value; or was an impudent denier of what "all men" knew.

Printed in France in 1584 for the use of the English abroad, the libel claimed a patriotic motive; employing at first a decorous title, "*Copie of a Leter*," etc. Then dropping the mask, it came out in 1585 as "*La Vie Abominable*" of "*my Lorde de Lecestre*," still without name of printer or place of publication. Finally in 1585-6, some of the same fabrications were included in a Latin tract, in an entirely different form. Up to now it has escaped notice that this third pamphlet, "*Flores Calvinistici*," printed in Naples, was not only published *with license*, but dedicated to Alexander Prince of Parma, King Philip's nephew and General, at a time when Leicester was fighting against Parma in the Netherlands.

The method of the soi-disant "Master of Arte of Cambrige" had been to blacken Leicester's moral character, and taunt the Queen as enslaved under a spell cast by a witch's "potion." But Elizabeth did not fall into the trap. In a Proclamation through the Privy Council she stated that if she kept as a "Chief Councillor of Estate" a man guilty of such crimes as the libeller ascribed to the Earl of Leicester, all law and order would be at an end in England. But her subjects must be aware that the facts were far otherwise.¹

So grotesque is the libel, that we might have dismissed it with this warning, were it not that under other names, in a series of reprints extending from 1641 to 1904, it is the source from which most of our historians, whether Catholic or Protestant, draw their estimates of Leicester. And many of Sir Philip Sidney's biographers instead of seeing Leicester through Sidney's or Greville's tributes, or Leicester's own acts and writings, have been under the influence of the very effusion which Sidney imputed to the "Devil the Father of Lies." Therefore let us examine the title pages of the English, French and Latin versions, and take notice of some MSS. copies of the English and French publications. These two are the same, except for the translator's amplifications in French; but the title pages are in striking contrast. For an English Protestant audience, the publication purported to represent "dutyful good wyl and affection towards her most excellent Ma[jesty] and the Realm." For circulation in France, Leicester was denounced as impostor, traitor, atheist; and enemy not only of Elizabeth Regina but to "all Christendom."

THE COPIE OF A LETER wryten by
a Master of Arte of Cambridge, to his
friend in London: concerning some talke
past of late betwixen two worshipful and
grave men, about the present state, and some
proceedings of the Erle of Leycester & his
friendes in England. Conceyved, spoken

DISCOURS DE LA VIE ABOMIN-
ABLE, *Ruses, Trahisons, Meurtres, Impos-
tures, empoisonnements, palliardises, Atheisms,
and autres tres iniques conversations,
desquels a usé & use journellement le my
Lorde de Lecestre Machiaveliste, contre
l'honneur de Dieu, la Majeste de la Royne*

¹Chaderton M.S. f. 29^b. Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa*, No. VI. p. 158.

and publyshd, with most earnest protestation of al dutiful good wyl and affection towardes her most excellent Ma. and the Realm, for whose good onely it is made common to many.

Job Cap 20 Verse 27.

Revelabunt coeli iniuriam ejus, & terra consurget adversus eum.

The heavens shal reveile the wicked mans iniquitie, and the earth shall stand up to beare witness agaynst hym.

Anno MDLXXXIV.

MDLXXXV.

d'Angleterre sa Princesse, & toute la re-publique Chrestienne.

Traduict d'Anglois en Francois & mis en forme de Dialogue aquel le Legiste, le gentilhomme & l'Ecolier sont introduites pour la plus facile declaration du present Discours.

Father Robert Parsons, S.J. is often quoted as the writer of the "*Leter.*"¹ He repudiated it; and unless he could be proved as the author, his denial should be accepted. Whoever wrote it, the common knowledge that Father Parsons was one of the chief conspirators against Queen Elizabeth caused its attribution to him by the populace to be widespread, to the lingering detriment of Catholics. It was colloquially called "*Father Parsons' Green Coat*": not referring to any lay disguise of Parsons, but to the green paper cover under which it was smuggled into England, green being a Tudor colour.²

The English libel, under heading of a "Godly and profitable meditation, taken out of the 20 Chapter of the Book of Job," added that Leicester and his heirs are consigned to perdition: "his children shall be worne out with beggary," his bones "replenished with the vices of his youth"; and "the riches which hee hath devoured hee shall vomit foorth again."³ He is represented as having "spoiled the poor"; whereas actually his generosity and kindness were embodied in many gifts and bequests, including his Hospital, founded in 1571, and surviving in Warwick to this day. But the hidden enemy threatened, "*hee shall suffer according to the multitude of his wicked inventions . . . and all kind of sorrow shall rush upon him . . . he shall be tormented alone: . . . his house shall bee made open and pulled down . . .*" and so forth.

¹ B.M. No: 599. a.30 is catalogued under "Parsons, Robert," for the 1641 reprint.

² There was a later reply, alluded to in 1808 by Dr. Zouch in his "*Memoir of the Life of Sir Philip Sidney*": "*Father Parsons' green coat well dusted: or short and pithy animadversions on that infamous fardle of abuse and falsities entitled Leicester's Commonwealth.*" No date, nor author, nor place of printing is given; but presumably it was after the appearance of the 1641 version, the first, apparently, to be called "*Leicester's Commonwealth.*" The "*Green coat well dusted*" has been enquired for by the present writer. It is not in B.M., nor the Bodleian, nor in Cambridge University Library, nor Lambeth Palace, nor Hatfield House, nor Longleat; nor in the National Library of Scotland. Nor does any bibliophile consulted know more of it than its name, quarried from Zouch, who, being vehemently hostile to Leicester, did not quote it.

³ If we ask why Job is invoked, the explanation seems to be that Leicester was supposed to take a special interest in that personage. See "*Sermons of Master John Calvin, upon the Booke of Iobe. Translated out of the French by Arthur Golding . . .*" (B.M. No. 689. i. 8.) Three editions in B.M. Nos. 3165. f. 14; 3165. f. 10; and 689. i. 8. Dedication headed "*To the Right Honourable and his special good Lord Robert, Erle of Leycester, Baron of Denbigh, Knight of the most noble Order of the Garter, one of the Queenes Maiesties most Honorable priuie Counsell etc. Grace, merrie, peace and truthe in Christe.*" A long letter, signed "Your honours most humble always to commaund, Arthur Golding."

The "inventions" were not Leicester's but the libeller's.

This "*Copie of a Leter*" purports to represent a talk between "worshipful and grave men" eager for the welfare of the Realm. "The blessed reigne of her Majesty" and "our most gratious soveraigne" are phrases not seen at the outset as sarcastically intended, as there is affectation of solicitude for Queen Elizabeth.

"... there are three notable differences of religion in the Land, the two extremities whereof are the Papist and the Puritan, and the religious Protestant obtaining the meane: *this fellow being of neither, maketh his gain of all: and as hee seeketh a Kingdom by the one extreame, and spoil by the other, so hee useth the authority of the third to compasse the first two, and the countermine of each one to the overthrow of all three.*"

So says the "lawyer"; whereon the "scholar" exclaims "you meane my Lord of Leicester."

He is then held up as more wicked and dangerous than "*all the wickednesse of England besides*," and as "*the bane and fatall destiny of our State*"; the destroyer of "true religion" and "*the greatest enemy that the land doth nourish*." He is "*hateful to God and men*," for he plots to dispose "*as hee list both of Prince, Crowne, Realme and Religion*."

"... nooseled in treason from his infancy, descended of a tribe of traytors, and fleshed in conspiracy against the Royall bloud of King Henries children in his tender yeares; and exercised ever since in drifts against the same: ... *a man so well known to beare secret malice against her Majesty, ... and most deadly rancour against the best and wisest Councillours of her Highness*:" etcetera.

His brother-in-law Henry Hastings, Earl of Huntingdon, is described as another heretical plotter to obtain the Crown on the strength of descent from George Duke of Clarence.

Leicester is represented as Huntingdon's false friend, who affects to help in order to betray him.

But the correspondence of Huntingdon with Leicester, up to the end of Leicester's life, (as we shall see,) amply shows the steadfast confidence and harmony between them.

That Leicester's brother Ambrose, Earl of Warwick was Master General of the Ordnance, was put forward by the libeller as imperilling the realm; in that the armour, guns, weapons, powder and shot, were under control of Leicester. Elizabeth's "sweet" innocence and "gratious" weakness open the door to her destruction. Likened to Richard II, Edward II, and other Monarchs overthrown by unworthy favourites, she is warned that her deposition and death are the goal of Leicester's secret dealings even while he is boasting of her amorous favours!

Let us contrast with the pamphleteer's style and matter what Leicester himself wrote about "the Queen's most excellent Majesty," words never printed till now:

"my gracious Sovereign Lady, by whose bounty and special goodness I have received all those honours and dignities which I enjoy at this day in this world

"Never lived subject more faithful, more loyall" nor who "more truly loved his Prince than I have ever done Her Majesty, from the first day of my serving her, even till this hour :" and so it "shall be to the hour of my death."

This is in a private description of his faith, affections, wishes, estates and possessions, in an unpublished eleven page Will drawn up all in his own hand, 30th of January 1581-2. It has remained unknown to our historians, only Leicester's second Will having been printed. (Preserved at Longleat, this 1581-2 MS. is in the collection of Dudley Papers, which the Viscounts Weymouth and Marquesses of Bath inherited through Lady Frances Devereux, sister and co-heiress of the third and last Devereux Earl of Essex; second but eldest surviving daughter of Robert the second Earl, "my Loving sonne in lawe and god sonne" as Leicester called him: using, like many Elizabethans, the phrase "son in law" for stepson.)

"In the name of the Almighty and everlasting God, I Robert Earl of Leycester, being at this present (praised be the Lord) of good health of body, and in mind of perfect memory, do now make my last Will and Testament, for the better settling and bestowing of such my worldly goods and possessions as it hath pleased the Lord God to send me."

First he humbles himself for his sins and shortcomings; praying the "eternal and mighty Judge" that inasmuch as he has "faythfully, trewly and sincerely" put his trust in Christ "my L and Saviour," "neither for the offences of our first parents" nor for personal failings need he be shut out from the "glorious Kingdome" of eternal life.

The existence of a universe without a Creator would have appeared as incredible in the 16th century as to suppose a ship could come into being without a shipwright: and when Leicester in 1582 wrote of his hope of Heaven, he meant it as literally as that his two "howses fit to inhabitt" were "Kenelworth and Leycester Howse."

He specifies the sequence of his obligations: first his Sovereign, second his "dear and loving wife," third "hir sonne and mine"; next his brother Warwick, and his nephew Philip Sidney.

"For a memory of my dutiful service I do bequeath and give unto Her Majesty the best Jewel I shall leave;" or if "there be none as good as I intend, then I do will my executor to provide one that shall be worth one thousand markes; beside a fair great table diamond in a ring, which is esteemed a very rare paragon, and did stand me in four hundred pounds in ready money, and a jewell I myself did greatly esteem. This small token I do humbly beseech her most excellent Majesty to receive in good parte from her old and most loyal servant."¹

¹ Possibly the ring he wears in his portrait, circa 1574-8, formerly at Tusmore: now reproduced E.E. Vol. III, plate 2.

To represent Leicester's respectful service as an attempt to procure control over the Queen's person by witchcraft, and to assert that he had indulged habitually in poisoning of rivals, and destruction of illicit offspring, is so preposterous that, when we know the man, what will strike us is the clumsiness of the libeller, and the careless credulity of modern writers who have accepted as "history" the grotesque fabrications published under such a title as "*La Vie Abominable*."

But the libels are seldom read in the originals. They are consulted under their later names, such as "*Leicester's Commonwealth, or Secret Memoirs of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, Prime Minister and Favourite of Queen Elizabeth, containing an Instructive Account of his Ambition, Designs, Intrigues, Excessive Power, his Engrossing the Queen, with the Dangerous Consequence of that Practice. Written during His Life and now published from an Old Manuscript never Printed. To which is added a Preface by Dr. Drake. London, 1706.*

Leicester was never "Prime Minister." No such office then existed. He did not "engross" the Queen; nor were the consequences of his influence "dangerous," except to her foes: as one of King Philip's spies recognised in 1588. If the editor of these pretended "*Memoirs . . . never Printed*" was really unaware he was reprinting a libel published in 1584 and 1585, his ignorance of the Elizabethan era was abyssmal.¹ But instructors of the public in a long procession from the early 18th century up to date, have given currency again and again to these libels,—translating the accusations into decorous language, and suppressing the source. A 19th century D.D.² quoting Birch, an 18th century Protestant divine of the same standing, alleged of Leicester that he "*in his private life was the most obnoxious of all who were employed by Queen Elizabeth; . . . he was suspected on good grounds of the most shocking crimes, which he affected to conceal under high pretensions to piety.*"

Both these Doctors of Divinity "affected" to be pious and had "pretentions" to expert knowledge. In echoing the echo of the libels our instructors usually omit to mention that the Privy Council took up this matter of the anonymous falsehoods, and that Leicester's honour was emphatically cleared by his colleagues, and by the Queen herself. By Royal Proclamation "from Greenwich this xx of June 1585," Her Majesty could not "forbear rebuking" the "slackness" of her subjects in that they permit the circulation of "a most vile book," "*most infamous, containing notoriously slanderous and hateful matter against her right-trusty and well-beloved cousin the Earl of Leicester, one of her principal noblemen and Chief Councillors of Estate; of which most malicious and wicked imputations Her Majesty, in her*

¹ Reissued in 1708; and again, "*The Picture of a Favourite, or Secret Memoirs of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, Prime Minister and Favourite of Queen Elizabeth, containing an Instructive Account of his Rise and Fall, excessive Wealth and Power, his Cruel Oppressions, and Exorbitant Grants made to him, his Ambitious Aim at the Crown,*" &c., by James Drake, 1721, 8vo.

² Rev. Thos. Zouch, D.D., Prebendary of Durham, "*Memoirs . . . of Sir Philip Sidney . . . York. 1808,*" pp. 222-223, from Dr. Birch's "*Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth,*" Vol. I. p. 6.

own clear knowledge, doth declare and testify his innocencie to all the world; and to that effect hath written her gracious letters, signed with her own hand, to the Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, and Aldermen of London, where it is likely these books would be chiefly cast abroad."¹

"Both she and they" know the charges to be so false that none but a "devil himself could dream them to be true." The accusations have been "subtly contrived" to make her appear as without conscience or justice. Had any one of the alleged monstrous crimes been committed, could it be supposed that she lacked "either the good will, ability or courage" to punish the offender according to the laws of her kingdom? Of the "service, sincerity of religion, and all other faithful dealings of the Earl of Leicester" towards herself and the realm she had "long and true experience" (for twenty-seven years); so "taking the abuse to be offered to her own self," the Queen called upon her Privy Council to vindicate Leicester, and to rebuke the libeller and printer who had only escaped punishment because they lurked in hiding.

This Proclamation was signed by the Lord Chancellor (viz, Sir Thomas Bromley), the Lord Treasurer, Burghley; the Earl Marshal, Shrewsbury; the Earls of Derby and Bedford; the Queen's three cousins, Charles Lord Howard of Effingham, Lord Hunsdon, and Sir Francis Knollys; Principal Secretary Sir Francis Walsingham, Vice-Chamberlain Sir Christopher Hatton, Sir Henry Sidney and Sir Walter Mildmay. *Sir Philip Sidney's biographers to-day do not mention it.* Rather are they credulous of the libel, in which Leicester is depicted as bragging of the Queen's infatuation for himself, while plotting her destruction². His habits, where women are concerned, are compared by the "Master of Arte" to Nero, Sardanapalus, and Heliogabalus. He is Judas Iscariot for treachery; and so addicted to rape and murder that his wickedness beggars description! None the less it is described; with elaborate and disgusting details purporting to have been supplied by "a Gentlewoman at the Court," and a "Nobleman" whose name may not be mentioned. "Grave scholars" and the people of England are said to be horror-stricken by his sins. This is repeated frequently; and has never till now been contrasted with Gabriel Harvey's printed apostrophe to Leicester as "the Earl of Earls," "the glory of the Court";³ or with

¹ Chaderton MS. f. 29^b. Peck's "Desiderata Curiosa," No. VI, p. 158. Reprinted in "An Inquiry into . . . the Death of Amy Robsart" &c. by Thomas Joseph Pettigrew, F.R.S., F.S.A. (1859), etc. pp. 34-36.

The Queen's letters "signed with her own hand" were sought in vain at the Guildhall in 1925 for the present work. There is in 1585 a gap in the *Remembrancia* (official book of copies of letters) owing to the death of the "Remembrancer." In S.P. Dom: Eliz: for 1585 there is a draft of the above Proclamation; but not of the Queen's letters.

² The editor of "The Miscellaneous Works of Sir Philip Sidney," 1893, p. 38, correctly described the libels as "characterised by all the venom and rancour that the most ruthless hatred could suggest."

³ "Gabrielis Harvei . . . Gratulationis Valdenensis. Liber Secundus: Ad nobilissimum Heroem Comitem Lecest: &c. &c. Leicester is here described as "the noblest glory of the race of Dudley," "the one Englishman known to foreigners." But Grosart in his edition of Harvey's *Complete Works* translated that author's praise of Philip Sidney but treated Harvey's address to Sidney's uncle Leicester as of no account, and left it in its original Latin.

Harvey's private letter in praise of Leicester's "most honourable name," dated "from Trynity Hall in Ca[mbridge] this xxiiii of April 1579," five years prior to the spurious "*Leter of a Master of Arte in Cambrige.*"¹

The libel at the time of issue had apparently no influence in Oxford, of which Leicester was Chancellor, nor at Cambridge where Burghley held that office. It was not until "hereafter ages" that our Universities began to elevate it, in its 1641 reprint as "*Leycesters Commonwealth,*" to a place in the lists of "authorities." The compilers of "*Athena Cantabrigienses*" stated,²

"Grave imputations have been made with respect to his using poison to take off such as stood in his way. . . . The famous book which is best known as Leicester's Commonwealth is entitled to slight credit, yet it can hardly be supposed that there is no foundation for some of the statements in contains."

Thus was English history written in 1861; and thus, so far as Leicester is concerned, has it been written ever since. Yet had the libel been critically looked at, any alert reader could hardly have avoided noticing how often the allegations are palpably false. For example: "*Wee heare also of one Doughty hanged in hast by Captain Drake upon the sea, and that by order (as is thought) before his departure, out of England, for that he was over privy to the secrets of this good Earle.*"

Doughty was neither hanged at sea in haste, *nor hanged at all*. Drake, who had been his devoted friend, had exercised much forbearance, giving him ample time to right himself; instead of which Doughty again strove to stir up a mutiny. He was tried by court martial, found guilty, and *beheaded*; Drake taking the Sacrament with him as a mark of personal forgiveness, though in his official capacity he was obliged to concur in the death penalty.³

In the libel, Leicester is charged with having all the affairs of the kingdom under his control and being so "supreme" that to cross him or even argue with him is to risk death by poison from Dr. Julio; of which poisonings the Queen is kept in ignorance! None of the authorities repeating this have been aware that *Dr. Julio was not Leicester's but the Queen's physician*; as appears not only from the Exchequer Warrant Books but from a letter of Sir Christopher Hatton, showing the Queen's concern for Leicester's health, at precisely the time he is represented

¹ In Unpublished Longleat MSS. (II. f. 202) is a long letter from Harvey, who says, "If your most excellent Lordship will give me leave, I cannot but here profess unto your selfe that [which] I have often shewid openly unto many others, that this little body of mine carrieth a great mind towards my good Lord, and is [ready] evermore to attempte and indure any kynde of travayle (either at home or abroad, by speaking, wrytinge, or doyng, on[e] way or other) that maye anywayes seeme avaylable either towards ye strengtheninge of his Lordshippes estate or ye aduauncyng of his most Honorable name."

² Vol. II. pp. 33-34.

³ See E.E. Vol. IV. pp. 61-62.

in the libel as threatening a rebellion.¹ Furthermore Dr. Julio had been dead three years when he was represented as poisoner-in-chief for Leicester.²

Of Leicester's many friends, next to his brother Warwick, the one who regarded him with most "love and devotion" was Sir Philip Sidney. In the "*Defence of the Earl of Leicester*" Sidney characterises the libel as "*so full of horrible villainies as no good heart will think possible to enter into any creature: much less to be likely in so noble and well known a man*" whose "*true and sound honour*" shines the clearer in contrast to these accusations, to which not even "*the lightest wits*" could give credit. The anonymous enemy had accused Leicester of "*Dissimulation, Hypocrisy, Adultery, Falsehood, Treachery, Poison, Rebellion, Treason, Cowardice, Atheism, and what not; and all still upon the superlative . . .*" But it would be absurd if such a depraved "*goose-quill could any way blot the honour of an Earl of Leicester written in the hearts of so many men throughout Europe*"; so it does not appear to Leicester's nephew necessary "*to give any man's eyes or ears such a surfeit*" as to quote all the insults. But he points out how the pamphleteer contradicts himself: "*In the beginning of the book*" Leicester is "*so potent . . . that the Queen had cause to fear him*." But "*the same man in the end thereof*" is made to be "*so abject as any man might tread on him. The same man so unfriendly as no man could love him; the same man so supported by friends that Court and country were full of them.*" One moment slothful and "*infinitely luxurious*"; the next a Hercules; and so on.

The slanderer, not content with alleging Leicester to be a criminal of the most ferocious sort, attacks the Dudley family as "*no gentlemen*," and alleges that Leicester's father John Earl of Warwick and Duke of Northumberland had been of "*mean*" extraction. To which Sidney retorts,

"I am a Dudley in blood, that Duke's daughter's son; and do acknowledge—though in all truth I may justly affirm that I am by my father's side of ancient and always well-esteemed and well-matched gentry,—yet I do acknowledge, I say, that my chiefest honour is to be a Dudley: and truly am glad to have cause to set forth the nobility of that blood whereof I am descended, . . ."

To come of a family which numbered among its ancestral alliances such noble Norman houses as Neville, Beauchamp, Talbot, and Berkeley, is a more than adequate answer to a "*libel maker*," who, "*not content with a whole Dictionary of slanders upon persons living*," would "*rake up the bones of the dead*." Not only are Leicester's ancestors noble by descent, but they joined nobility of blood with devoted "*service and loyalty*," the denial of which Sidney roundly rebukes:

¹First published by the present writer (facsimile) II.4.3. Vol. II. plate 28.

²It has been hitherto unknown that it was in October 1581 that R. Lopez was appointed Physician to Her Majesty *in place of Dr. Julio "lately deceased"*: details will be published later in E.E.

"To thee I say thou liest in thy throat, which I will be ready to justify upon thee in any place of Europe where thou wilt assign me a free place of coming, . . . provided that the place be such as a Servant of the Queen's Majesty have access to. If I do not, having my life and liberty, prove this upon thee, I am content that this lie I have given thee return to my perpetual infamy. And this which I write I would send to thine own hands, if I knew thee."

He adds sarcastically that one who affects to be conversant with "the very whisperings of the Privy Chamber," can hardly fail to hear of this challenge, which will be printed and published: "*And from the date of this writing, . . . I will these three months expect thine answer.*"¹

The original manuscript—not known to his biographers or to the Cambridge editor of Sidney's Collected Works,—is scribbled in an agitated fashion, as if his hand could hardly keep pace with his mind. But it is perfectly legible; and though it reads more like a first draft than a work for publication—and no Elizabethan printed version can be found—its moral importance should no longer be ignored.²

The gist of Sidney's argument is that from the time the Queen came to the throne, enmity to Leicester has meant enmity to the Queen; Leicester's faith and honour being "so linked to Her Majesty's service" that to attack the one is to wish to undermine the other.

But modern Protestant biographers and historians have discarded the word of Sidney, and overlooked that of the Privy Council, and of the Queen herself; and

¹ The writing is undated; and there was no answer. Sidney's biographer, the Reverend Dr. Zouch, Prebendary of Durham, protested in 1808,—not against the anonymous calumniator, but against Sidney:

"Every indulgence is allowable to the feelings of a young writer anxious to rescue from reproach the reputation of his relation . . . But surely it would have been much more praiseworthy to have abstained from all asperity of speech . . . It is impossible not to censure the following address to his nameless antagonist . . . [quoted]. Is this the language of a just and candid advocate . . . ?"

Nevertheless, says Dr. Zouch, "such language may be deemed less inexcusable" because in the reign of Queen Elizabeth "the manners of the English gentry were far removed from that urbanity and refinement which adorned them in later times."

On the contrary, manners were then supposed to be based on the standard defined by Castiglione in his "*Cortegiano*." And Sidney in 1584 was not "a young writer"; he was nearly thirty. Dr. Zouch's inverted sense of propriety, not shocked by the outrageous accusations but only by Sidney so far departing from "urbanity" as to characterise lies as such, created a precedent for treating the "*Defence of the Earl of Leicester*" as negligible. Even his careful 1915 biographer, Professor Wallace, calls it "*formal writing*"; then adds that "*its only effectiveness is of sound and fury*"; and in conclusion (pp. 327-328) asserts that "Sir Philip passes lightly over the crimes where-with his uncle was charged." But far from treating the matter "lightly," Sidney lashed with scorn the "wicked and filthy thoughts" which "by all good laws" were due to be punished.

² It is frequently stated that it cannot have been published, the reason given being that it does not occur in the Stationer's Register. But books licensed by the Queen and Council were not always entered in the Register, which is not a record of every book printed; only an account of fees paid. Nevertheless, as Sir Philip was not a Privy Councillor, it may have been judged best to leave the vindication to be pronounced officially by the Queen. (E.E. pp. 122-123, ante).

have automatically echoed the anonymous libel, produced abroad by the party aiming at the overthrow of Elizabeth.

The only retort to Sir Philip Sidney's challenge was that the anonymous assailant reissued the same pamphlet; this time in French. Throwing off the mask of "dutyful good wyl" he named the production, "*Discours de La Vie Abominable, Ruses, Trahisons, Meurtres, Impostures, empoisonnements, paillardisms, Atheisms, et autres tres iniques conversations . . . de my Lorde de Lecestre, Machiaveliste, contre l'honneur de Dieu, la Majeste de la Royne d'Angleterre, et toute la Republique Chrestienne.*"

As authorities for Leicester's crimes he referred to a "Nobleman" and a "Gentlewoman" at the Court. The Gentlewoman's identity has not aroused any interest; but as to the Nobleman, a 19th century interpreter of "*The Politics of Shakespeare's Historical Plays*,"—Richard Simpson, chief advocate of the Burghley-Polonius notion, alleged also that Burghley gave Morgan (an adherent of Mary Queen of Scots,) all the "information" embodied in the pamphlet, so as to expose his political rival! This ridiculous assertion has echoed and re-echoed. But whereas Simpson's idea of Burghley's character purported to be derived from Burghley's own "remains," it was based on yet another libel,—called "*The Caecilian Republic.*"¹

When Horace Walpole in his "*Catalogue of the Royal and Noble Authors of England*" stated it was "pretended" that Burghley "furnished hints for that composition to Parsons the Jesuit," he added "*This assertion was never proved: it ought to be before it deserves any credit.*" Walpole imagined that Leicester was "a bad man," but even so, he asked "would that justify Cecil in employing one of his mistress's bitter enemies to write against one of her ministers?"²

That Burghley, who devoted forty consecutive years to upholding the Queen's honour, could have presented either Father Parsons or Thomas Morgan with material for the most ferocious attack upon his Sovereign, and upon her Court in which he was himself so conspicuous—is absurd. Moreover the libel is the antithesis to Burghley's style. Also, *Burghley signed the contradiction to it.*

Who then was the nobleman to whom the libeller was indebted for guidance?

In the 1904 version, Burgoyne, the editor (p. xii), quotes a letter to the Rev. Dr. Mosse signed C.A.; "Parsons . . . many years after the death of L. denies himself to be the author of it. In short the author is very uncertain, and for anything that appears in it, it may as well be a Protestant's as a Papist's." But had C. A. read it? In 1584 it was not Protestants who wished the fall of Leicester. C. A. continues, "I should rather think it the work of some subtle courtier, who, for safety, got it printed abroad, and sent it to England under the name of Parsons."

¹ This libel is not in B.M. nor at Hatfield; and cannot at present be traced. For fifteen years the present writer has searched for it; and is baffled as yet. Simpson quoted it without saying where he found it; just as Zouch quoted "*Father Parsons' Green Coat well dusted*" without indication of where the pamphlet could be seen.

² Op. cit. ed: 1806, Vol. II. p. 65. Also a MS. note in the hand of Watson (author of "*The History of Halifax*"), at end of Grenville's copy in the B.M., to the same effect.

As the libel itself in the 1585 version expresses its reliance upon a nobleman at the Court, the question is "What nobleman?" Of two MS versions of the "*Copie of a Letter*" in the British Museum, one (Harleian 557) is dated 1584, and apparently contemporary; the other, Harleian 405, is in a 17th century hand. In the earlier MS, dated 1584, there is a jotting (on folio 17) that "Mrs Anne Vavasour" was a Maid of Honour. This recalls to us that Mistress Vavasour had repulsed Charles Arundel, a man of good ancestry but unchivalrous character, who took his revenge by scandalous imputations upon "Nan Vavasour" and Burghley's son-in-law Edward, Earl of Oxford. These scandals were included in a long list of charges hurled at Oxford in effort to upset his favour with the Queen; and stir up general strife at the Court. One of the accusations was that Oxford indulged in "daily railing" against Leicester, and intended his murder!¹

The marginal note about Anne Vavasour suggested to the present writer a comparison of both libels. The attack upon Lord Oxford, preserved in the Record Office, is unpublished.² In its verbose vehemence, feeble reasoning, violent vituperation and exuberant indecency, blended with claims to exalted motives, the 1581 attack closely resembles the 1584 libel.

In an "*Addition du translateur*" appended to the 1585 printed French version of the latter, the two English courtiers whom the libeller singles out for laudatory mention are "*Monseigneur Henry Harrard*" and "*Monsieur Charles Arundel*," whose erstwhile "*grand reputation et credit*" with the Queen is said to have been overthrown through the "*persecution malicieuse et violante*" exercised by Leicester against these "*gentilshommes honorables*".³

No such persecution has been discovered; and Howard ("Harrard") was not "overthrown." The suspicion under which he fell in 1581 soon abated; and his career of successful duplicity was continued into the reign of James I. His secret dealings would never have become known, had not Mendoza's letters, printed in 1896, revealed him as a well-paid agent of Spain; and had not certain later private effusions survived, which Howard in 1600 asked his co-conspirator to "slice or burn." (These will be quoted in their place). Charles Arundel also appears on Mendoza's list of Spanish pensioners.⁴

Two 20th century antiquarians, reprinting some of the stories from the Leicester libels, termed these slanders "Howard traditions." If this term is correct, Lord Henry Howard may have been the pamphleteer's unnamed patron at the Court in

¹ See B.M. Ward's "*The Seventeenth Earl of Oxford*," 1928, for the case of C. Arundel.

² Since this section was written, some extracts have appeared in Captain B. M. Ward's "*The Seventeenth Earl of Oxford*," with answers.

³ "*Monseigneur Harry Harrard*" (the French printer's mangling of Howard) is one of the signs that the translator was not English. Grandson of the 3rd Duke of Norfolk and son of Henry Earl of Surrey, after the Earl's elder son Thomas had been restored to the forfeited Dukedom of Norfolk Henry Howard became "Lord Henry" as if he had been a Duke's son. Even so, he who was not a peer, was not, on the strength of a courtesy title, correctly styled "*Monseigneur*."

⁴ Cal: S.P.S. Vol. III; E.E. Vol. V, p. 144.

1584; even as Lord Henry was certainly the prompter of Charles Arundel's attempts to blast the credit of Lord Oxford. But Oxford had no difficulty in clearing himself, as appears from the Privy Council Register of 9th June, 1581.

The expander of the 1584 libel in its French version, 1585, claims to have fresh news of Leicester's crimes "from one day to another"; and one offence is his alleged hatred of Lord Henry Howard and of Charles Arundel:¹ But Walsingham's letters to Burghley show that it had not been Leicester but Oxford who brought the charges against Lord Henry Howard and Charles Arundel; and that Arundel then hurled counter charges against Oxford.

Oxford had written to Burghley of "lewd fellows" and their accusations, and that "*the world is so cunning as of a shadow can make a substance.*" But Charles Arundel's vehemence against "*this monstrous Earl*" recoiled on himself, and he fled abroad to escape punishment. He had accused Oxford of high treason, attempted murder, atheism, and the grossest vices; exactly the same as subsequently alleged in 1584 in the libel upon Leicester. In 1581 the attack was meant so to discredit Oxford that the Queen should disbelieve his warnings as to Lord Henry's and Charles Arundel's hope of seeing Philip II of Spain "Monarch of all the World." Lord Henry contrived to convince the Queen of his devotion to herself. But that Oxford's suspicions were correct appears from a letter to King Philip from his Ambassador, Mendoza, which did not see the light till our own day: "*Milord Harry, with a care which I can hardly describe, has informed and informs me of everything he hears which is of service to your Majesty*"; and as the said Lord has "much friendship with the ladies of the Privy Chamber" he is able to give particulars of "exactly what passes indoors."²

This had been at Christmas 1580, just after the defeat of the Spaniards and Italians in the County Kerry³ And that Lord Henry selected the Spanish Ambassador as the person in whose house to hide when he was afraid of being arrested, would be sufficient indication of his leanings, even if there were not so much else to illustrate them. But in 1583 he was dedicating "*The poyson of*

¹ "Je ne diray aussi mot . . . de la persecution malicieuse et violante qu'il fait a Monsieur Henry Harrard frere de feu Duc de Norfolk et a monsieur Charles Arundel, parent de la Royne et autrefois en grande reputation et credit aupres d'elle, estant tout deus gentilshommes honorables en divers degresz et toujours favorisez et estimez en Cour; dont il tient l'un (a ce que je peux entendre) en prison, a force l'autre s'abandonner la pais et vivre en exil pour conserver sa liberte."

"*La Vie Abominable*," etc. (B.M. No. 1806. a. 10) p. 133 verso. Shoulder note, "my Lord Henri Harrard. Monsieur Charles Arundel." This is part of an "*Addition du traducteur ou sont declarez plusieurs actes enormes et indignes de Chretien commis par le mesme Lecestre desquels on a nouvelle cognaisance et advertisement de jour a autre.*" (p. 122 verso to p. 134.) Received fresh news of Leicester's crimes from one day to another, recalls the "daily railings" of Lord Oxford in the earlier libel.

² Cal: S.P.S. Letter reprinted in C.R.S. Vol. 21. 1919, "*The English Martyrs*," Vol. II. pp. 30-31, without full realisation of all it indicates.

³ E.E. Vol. IV, pp. 66-73.

supposed Prophecies" to Principal Secretary Walsingham, in terms which would make the Protestant Walsingham appear a special object of his devotion.¹

As Spanish plans for the subjugation of England included many an effort to make trouble for Elizabeth via Scotland, the Leicester libels were circulated also north of the Tweed. It was then that King James VI announced by Royal Proclamation,

"Forasmuch as we were credibly informed that there are divers slanderous and infamous books privily brought in and publicly dispersed in sundry hands within our realm, full of ignominious and reproachful *calumnies devised and set out by some seditious persons, of purpose to obscure, so far as in them lies, the honour and reputation of our right trusty and right well-beloved cousin the Earl of Leicester, and others, Counsellors of our dearest Sister and Cousin the Queen of England*: And remembering how in the time of our captivity at Ruthven the very like was published and set out upon our right [beloved] cousin and Counsellor James, Earl of Arran our Chancellor, only to move our subjects to insurrection and rebellion against us,—howsoever the same appeareth always to respect our own person as the [others] do the person of our dearest Sister: " as His Majesty and the Queen of England live in "mutual friendship," King James's "will is therefore" that "the said reproachful books, . . . and the 'letter of estate written by a scholar in Cambridge'" are to be prohibited from circulation; and any person or persons finding copies of these pernicious libels must "deliver the same to our Secretary to be cancelled and destroyed. XVI Feb: 1584" (5).²

This disposes of the modern notion that the libels were accepted at the time as authentic biography and history.

From an openly hostile quarter there was still to come the third libel, yet more atrocious, with variations, and purporting to be based on French and English writings. It was not printed until Leicester, acting as the Queen's Lieutenant-General in the Low Countries had been elected their Governor General to aid those provinces in their rebellion against Spain.

Described in 1888 in the D.N.B. as a "Latin translation" of the 1584-1585 English and French libels, it actually is a totally different composition: as anyone must have seen if comparing them: but no such comparison seems to have been performed by any historian whether Catholic or Protestant. This "*Flores Calvinistici*" is the most important of the three; for whereas the others are anonymous and with no name of printer, and thus are manifestly illicit, this one is by *Iulius Brieger*; and was printed with license in Naples,—which was one

¹ For analysis of that book, see E.E. Vol. II. pp. 148-150.

² Proclam: here first transcribed and put into English (from Scots), B.M. Add: M.S. No. 31897. f. 9. Contemporary copy on one side of foolscap paper. The copyist was presumably a Scot; for "James be the grace of god King of Scottes" is his manner of distributing capital letters; and our "cousine the q of england"—like "god"—is not allowed capitals, though the King of Scots's "Counties" and "Messengeres" are. The MS. is endorsed "Copy of the Proclamation" etc.; with a Museum note, "Pres^d by Jabez Hogg Esq^r, 25th Nov: 1882." Mentioned but not printed in "*Tudor and Stuart Proclamations: 1485-1714*": ed: Robert Steele, Vol. 88, p. 243. (2 Vols. folio. B.M. No. circ 100.b.)

Since the above was written in 1923, Captain B. M. Ward has referred to the matter in his "*Seventeenth Earl of Oxford*," 1928.

of the kingdoms of Philip of Spain: and so it bears out the assertion of King Philip's godson Philip Sidney, that the enemies of Leicester and the foes of Queen Elizabeth were identical.

Brieger described his information, whether as to "Dudley" or the other heretics in "*Anglia, Scotia, Gallia, Belgio et Germania*," as "diligently and faithfully collected out of Latin, French and Italian writings": and he garnished his title page with the same threat "Iob C.20" which had appeared in Latin and English as a text for the pretended "*Letter wryten by a Master of Arte in Cambrige*," 1584.

Leicester is held up by him as the real ruler of England, to whom the Queen is enslaved, and by whom she will soon be murdered: "*The satraps of Robert*" (his title omitted as a deliberate insult) "govern in every direction: Lord Grey in Ireland, George Carew in the Isle of Wight."¹ Amias Paulet and Thomas Layton in Jersey and Guernsey,"² In London the metropolis of all England he is well served by Roland 'Henardum' and the furious 'Fleetvoodum'; and at the Tower by Owen Hopton 'Atheist and Puritan'"³

The Queen's personal safety and the kingdom and people are all endangered by her allowing "Robert himself" to be Master of the Horse, and his brother the Earl of Warwick Master of the Ordnance, by which the armed power of the State "is at his absolute commandment." It is alleged that in "Killenworth" Leicester has arms for 10,000 men in readiness to rebel; that his enemies are all either exiled or in prison; that with traitorous intent he had betrothed his son to a damsel of Royal blood, Lady Arabella Stuart: his plan being to make away not only with Elizabeth but with Mary Queen of Scots and James VI, that he might establish his own posterity on the thrones of England and Scotland. This he would have achieved—asserts the libeller—had not the Almighty frustrated him by the death of his son.

Though this is all derived from the libels in English and French, the Latin libeller adds that "*the Earls of Arundel and Surrey*" were brought to their death by Leicester in 1585. But Philip, Earl of Arundel and Surrey was alive in 1585; nor was he sentenced until 1589 (after Leicester's death); and he did not die till 1595.

The previous grotesque falsehoods of the other libels as to the Countess of Essex are reiterated; as also that Leicester was responsible for poisoning Cardinal

¹ pp. 26-27. ² The Queen's cousin, Sir George Carey, eldest son of her Lord Chamberlain Henry Lord Hunsdon.

² Sir Thos Leighton, married to the Countess of Leicester's sister; and thus son-in-law to the Queen's cousin Sir Francis Knollys, Treasurer of her Household.

³ Notice the use of the terms "Atheist" and "Puritan" as synonymous. Whenever Leicester or any of the Queen's officers is styled "Puritan" in his own day, the epithet "Atheist" usually follows. But this escapes notice; hence the delusion that Leicester was one of the declared leaders of the Puritan party: an error given fresh currency by Dr. Conyers Read in his Preface to "*Mr. Secretary Walsingham and the Policy of Queen Elizabeth*." (Oxford, 1925).

Chastillon (though actually Leicester had every reason to wish him well; and a Frenchman in 1573 confessed to having been the murderer).¹

The phrase "*England . . . an asylum for the damned*" had an illustrious origin, being based on Pope Pius's Declaration 1569-70. Nevertheless we may feel some surprise that "*Dominum D. Alexandrum Farnesivm, Principem Parmensem, Belgij Gubernatorem*" would accept the dedication of such manifest slanders against Queen Elizabeth with whom he was conducting an affable correspondence.

Libel Number One in 1584, English, had affected on the title page to be Protestant. In Number Two, French translation of 1585, for use in a country where the Pope's adherents greatly outnumbered his opponents, the title was altered, and the text supplemented with praises of Lord Henry Howard and Charles Arundel. Number Three, Latin, 1585-6 ("ad Lectorem," page 3,) opens with impressive reference to "*fortissimum Christi Martyrem Edmundum Campianum*," and is addressed to an audience among which Archbishop Cranmer and Robert Earl of Leicester were equally to be abhorred. The "*Flores*" include a description of the alleged crimes of Queen Anne Boleyn; the argument being that Elizabeth comes of so corrupt a stock as to be fit only to profess the Calvinistic creed, which was described as an inversion of both human and divine laws.²

It had been in the spring of 1538-4, soon after the dismissal of the Spanish Ambassador by Queen Elizabeth for conspiring with her enemies,—and shortly before the scandalous "*Leter*" was printed abroad,—that Thomas Stocker dedicated to Lord Leicester "*A Tragical Historie of the troubles and Civile Warres of the Lowe Countries . . . translated out of French . . .*," chosing him for patron, for his "holie faithe, knowledge, zeale, and obedience, in the truth of the same Religion" Whereas the anonymous libeller of 1584 represents Leicester as hated by all men, and the incarnation of every vice, including "Atheism," Thomas Stocker commends his "honourable and godlie dealing," likening him to "that valiaunt and milde leader of the children of Israell, Moses, a verie true and faithfull servant of God"; and to the martial "*Captaine Josua*" who exhorted the people to "serve the lorde in perfectness and truth."³

If we put side by side the libeller's attack, and Stocker's apostrophe to Leicester's "heart and mind," so inspired with love of God, that the English "Church and this common weale" may be partly by his means "in peace and godliness preserved and maintained,"—in the second we have the explanation of the first. Leicester being conspicuous among the Queen's "most honourable and faithfull Counsellors,"—one of the chief acknowledged champions of her Established

¹ E.E. Vol. II, p. 71-72.

² The comments made by each party on the works published by the opposite side are often misleading: Calvinism was in many respects a gloomy and exacting doctrine, but the list of virtues given by Calvin as requisite for a Christian are portentous, and Calvinist theology did not err on the side of excessive leniency to sinners.

³ "London the XV Marche 1583(4)" B.M. No. G. 15080. See Note, E.E. p. 111.

Church,—it follows that all adversaries of Elizabeth, whether of foreign or of English origin, were necessarily opponents of Leicester.

At the end of 1585, the year of publication of "*La Vie Abominable*" in Paris, and the year after the so-called "*Leter wryten by a Master of Arte of Cambrige*," how little the slander had influenced Leicester's admirers is instanced by Geoffrey Whitney's address to him :

"There needeth no Apology to be made unto your honour in behalfe of learning: whose noble mind hath bin so addicted to the same these many yeares that divers who are now famous men had bin, through povertie, long since discouraged from their studies if they had not founde your honour so prone to be their patron."¹

It was in 1585, too, that an actual M. A.,—Robert Greene,—dedicated to Leicester, "*Planetomachia: Or the first parte of the generall opposition of the seven Planets, wherein is Astronomically described their essence, nature, and influence.*"²

"... Vigidius being demaunded why he gave Antonius Pius the bud of an olive, aunswered because he is the flower of Clemencie;" and so Greene regards the Earl of Leicester: "such a worthie favourer" of literature that "*even the meanest*" desire by their "simple skill to shewe how duetifully they are affected to your honours noble and vertuous disposition: Which consideration of this your rare and singular minde hath forced many to present the fruits of their labours to your Lordship's patronage." Leicester's courteous kindness "towards learning" encouraged them first to "*discover their skill for your Lordship's private pleasure*" before their works were issued for "*the Commons public commoditie.*"

Greene would refrain "from troubling your honour," were it not that "the duetifull and humble affection wherewith I find myself bound to *such a worthie patrone of good letters* hath emboldened me to present your honour with this Pamphlet, . . . which if your Honour shall accept, my trauell shall be so requited as if I obtained most rich treasures. . . ."

If the reader exclaims that Robert Greene would have called any man "worthie" who gave him a few gold pieces, let us turn to a writer as sober and orderly as Greene was rackapelt: namely Thomas Lupton, author of the satirical play, "*All for Money*," in which, among thirty-eight dramatis personae, Money, Sin, Damnation, and the Devil are prominent. Lupton was allowed to dedicate his works to the Queen and to Burghley, to Secretary Walsingham; Francis, Earl of Bedford; the royally-descended Margaret Countess of Derby, and to Sir Christopher

¹ London 28 Nov.: 1585, "*A Choice of Emblemes . . . Leyden . . . 1586.*" (B.M. No. C.57. 1.27.) The editor of the 1866 reprint was so influenced by the libels that he waved aside Whitney's testimonials, and apologised for what he regarded as Whitney's flattery of a worthless peer.

² "Diversely discovering in their pleasant and Tragical histories the inward affections of the mindes, and painting them out in such perfect Colours as youth may perceive what fond fancies their flourishing yeares doe foster: and age clearely see what doting desires their withered yeares doe afforde. Conteyning also a briefe Apologie of the sacred and mystical Science of Astronomie. By Robert Greene, Master of Arts and student in Phisicke. 1585. Imprinted at London for Thomas Cadman, dwelling at the great North doore of S. Paules at the signe of the Byble 1585." B.M. No. 95. b. 18. (Vol. I. of Greene's Works: which also contains *The Tritameron of Love*, 1587; "*Pandosto, The Triumph of Time*," 1588; "*Menaphon*," "*Camilla's alarm unto slumbering Euphues*," 1589; "*The Spanish Masquerade*," 1589; "*Greene's Never too late*," 1590.)

Hatton. The D.N.B., has called him "Puritan," because he was a censor of vices. But he was a member of the Established Church from which the Puritans had broken away.¹

Describing "godlie fame," Lupton points out that no one can achieve it unless he tread the right path. Such a one must be "*gentle, affable, patient, ready to forgive; merciful, . . . a helper of many, a hurter of none, a nourisher of the needy, a feeder of the fatherless, and a faithful Christian.*"

This is Lupton's description of the same personage who in "*La Vie Abominable*" had been held up as a traitor, oppressor, murderer, and atheist; and of whom Froude asserted three centuries later that "*Dudley combined in himself the worst qualities of both sexes: without courage, without talent, without virtue.*"

Lupton, having defined "godlie fame," emphasises that such is the "fame your honour seeks daily to acquire," as can be seen from Leicester's life, "if truth may try it, if the act may affirm it, if practise may prove it . . . *What good thing hath been granted . . . but you have been guide to get it? what good public suit but that your honour hath set forward? what common profit but you have procured?*"

Undated, this may have been written in 1584 or early '85; because Lupton alludes to "slanderous reportes," and foretells that the slanderers will by Leicester's good deeds be made "ashamed" and their mendacities be "banished."

But our historians still lean on Camden and Naunton,—who were drawing upon the libels; instead of comparing the allegations of the post mortem detractors with what was written in his lifetime to and about Leicester, not only by his intimates in the Council, but by many contemporary men of letters: Gabriel Harvey, Arthur Golding, Edmund Spenser, Thomas Digges; Harrison, Green, Lupton, Malim, Featherstone, Stocker, Whitney, and a host of others.

Lupton was noted for his stern morality, so let us notice further in what spirit he approached the Sardanapalus, Nero, and Heliogabalus of "*La Vie Abominable*:

"*What poor friendless suitor hath your Lordship rejected, and have not many learned men by you been preferred?*" Alluding to Leicester's known readiness to "aid and help" the deserving, he asks who can prove Leicester to have hurt any? "*You deserve to be loved by all, and hated of none.*"

"But as Cain did envy his brother Abel because he was better beloved of God, . . . and as Joseph was hated of his brethren because they thought he should come to promotion, even so if your Honour be not esteemed as you have deserved, neither yet loved as

¹ Of Lupton's works those in the B.M. are his play "*All for Money*," 1578; "*A Persuasive from Papistrie . . .*" 1581, dedicated to "the Queenes Majesty"; "*A Thousand Notable Things of Sundry Sortes*" 1595: dedicated to Lady Margaret, Countess of Derby, published first in 1579, and running into eight editions: "*Sivigila (aliquis). Too good to be true,*" dedicated to Sir Christopher Hatton, 1580; and second part of the same, 1581, dedicated to "Sir Wm Cecill, Baron Burghley." Works not in the B.M. are dedicated to Sir Francis Walsingham, 1582; and "*A Dream of the Devil and Dives,*" 1584 (unique copy in Lambeth Palace Library; and a second edition 1615; both dedicated to Francis, Earl of Bedford.)

you have merited," the detractors are "of cankered Cain's brood, which cannot abide the prosperity of such as are contrary to their wicked conditions.

"And for that your honourable Lordship hath such a zeal to profit the poor, to set forward good suits, to comfort the careful, to help the needy, and to mind the miserable, I offer unto you a work to such an end and purpose framed, a commodtie to my country, . . . thinking myself happy that I have found such a mediator for such a cause. . . ."¹

This was a Discourse on "*Vertue and the Virtuous Life*": the word "virtue" in Elizabethan English not merely denoting absence of vice, but including, as in the ancient Roman sense, valour, patriotism, and active pursuit of noble ends; also liberality, bounty and courtesy.

In a pronouncement at Oxford in 1925 on "the Policy of Queen Elizabeth" from an American pen, Leicester—erstwhile Chancellor of the University, noted in his lifetime for graciousness to any scholar who had even a "spark of honestie,"² was held up as a "Puritan" and so haughty that not content with servants he would have had all men his slaves. No reviewer realised that both these assertions emanate from the libels. That "this impure Puritan" enslaved the Queen and all ranks was the allegation of the anonymous foe. The Queen's response we have seen.³

The confounding of pillars of the Church of England, like Leicester, with their adversary Puritans continues to-day, chiefly because the Dictionary of National Biography so frequently refers to Anglican Churchmen as "Puritans," even some whom the Puritans accused of being "Popish."

That same year 1585, Christopher Featherstone, dedicated to Leicester "*The holy Gospel of Iesus Christ, according to Iohn, Faithfully translated out of Latine into english.*"⁴

Apologising "that I dare presume to dedicate unto your honour . . . to whom I am altogether unknown, the translator adds,

"Vertue doth drawe men vnto it, and the reporte thereof causeth men to love those whom they have not scene, and to reverence those of who[m] they have only heard. . . ." ". . . your friendes confesse and your foes cannot justly deny that God hath placed in your noble brest great abundance of heriocall vertues . . . your unfeigned religion, . . . your faithfulness toward your dread Souerayne . . . that goodly magnanimitie wherewith the Lord hath endued you to maintaine his truth, to defend the Realm. . . ."

¹ Spelling modernised from Longleat Dudley MSS. Vol. III. ff. 206-209.

² Wm. Malin to him. E.E. Vol. III. p. 13. ³ Ante, p. 150-151.

⁴ The D.N.B. article on Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, by S(idney) L. L(ee) was praised as excellent by G. E. C. when in his *Complete Peerage* he accepted and amplified some of its worst mistakes. Students should be reminded that neither of the first editors of the D.N.B. cared for theology, whether Catholic or Protestant. One, Sir Leslie Stephen, being author of "*An Agnostic's Apology*," and the other, Sidney Lee, being a Jew, they were not interested in 16th century Christian theological differences; but indiscriminately classed as "Puritan" almost any person not openly adherent to the Pope.

⁵ "A Harmonie vpon the three Euangelists, Matthew, Mark and Luke, with the Commentarie of M. Iohn Caluine: Faithfullie translated out of Latine into English by E. P." (Eusebius Paget. 806 pp.) "Wherewith is also added a Commentarie vpon the Euangelist S. Iohn, by the same authour." [Translated by C. F.] "Londini impensis Geor. Bishop, 1584." First part dedicated by translator to "Fraunces Earle of Bedford," K.G., P.C. dated "from Kiltehampton in Cornewall, this 28 of Ianuarie 1584" (5).

As to Leicester's alleged desire to reduce all men to slavery, it was his noted courtesy and generosity which caused much competition to enter his service. His Will of 1581-2 ends: "*Lastly I may not forget my true and faithful servants, who have spent some their time and youth with me, and some their goods, and some both . . .*"¹

The list begins with "Edmund Care[y] sonne to my L. of Hunsdon," the Queen's cousin, "Rychard Knollys my wyves broth[e]r," (also a cousin of Her Majesty), "Harry Iseley my kinsman"; and ends with two of Lady Leicester's maids. And "my oth[e]rs forgotten I leave to ye good considerac[i]on of my executrix."

Equally characteristic is his previous specification, in the same Will: "*that before all things my executor . . . do see my debts as speedily paid as possible, especially to the poorest and most needy persons, as artificers, if any chance to be left unpaid . . . And if there be not sufficient in plate, Jewells, and otherwise to make present payment of my debts, . . . then do I charge my executor to see such of my leases to be sold as may suffice to answer the said debts, and herein I do most straitly charge my executor to have an honest and true regard to my conscience and honour, both for the payment of my debts and also if, through oversight, . . . I have done any person any wrong or [he] have sustained any willing loss by my means, that the same parties whosoever they be, upon just proof thereof, be recompensed to the uttermost.*"

To Elizabethans who set high value upon the justice they believed themselves due to receive from posterity, it would have appeared incredible that the pretended "*Copie of a Leter*," alias "*La Vie Abominable*," should remain for centuries in England an influence so permeating as to prevent any sober estimate of the many services of Robert Earl of Leicester, from 1557 at St. Quentin to his last labours in Tilbury Camp in 1588.

In a poem on "*The Anatomie of Baseness*," 1615, occurs a graphic description of "the Detractor,"²

*"Nor can the hand of reconciling Death
Free men from the injurious Monster's sting,
which through the bowels of the earth doth pierce,
and in the quiet vault appears more fierce
than Death . . ."*

But when we have followed Leicester's career to the end,—whether we agree or disagree with his political principles,—there can be little further controversy as to the actual facts of his life. We shall then be in a position to measure the wrong he has received from posterity,—not the least in the volumes of impressionism which Froude offered to the world under title of "*The History of England*."

¹ Unpublished Longleat Dudley MS. See reproduction, E.E. Plate 12.

² Reprint by Grosart, "*Fuller Worthies Lib.*": *Miscell.* II. (1871).

FIRST HALF PAGE OF SIR PHILIP SIDNEY'S DEFENCE OF THE EARL OF LEICESTER.

This Defence was believed to have survived only in a contemporary transcript, until the original was discovered in 1924 when the Russell of Aden MSS were examined for "Elizabethan England."

The Penshurst MS. belonging to Lord De L'Isle and Dudley, being in the script of Sir Robert Sidney, it occurred to the present writer that another of Sir Robert's descendants, Mrs. Russell, might possess Sir Philip's first draft of the Defence.

After comparison with other examples of the handwritings of both the Sidney brothers, the Russell MS. was discovered to be the "lost" original.

Mrs. Russell in 1926 sold at Sotheby's to Messrs. Quaritch, for £1,520, the hitherto neglected volume of MS in which the Defence was bound.

The holograph MS having so long been thought to have perished, the discovery would have been recognised as of great interest had the subject been understood by the public. But only now is this Defence brought into juxtaposition with the libel to which it is Sidney's answer.

The still usual assertion that the Defence is futile, and is only concerned with genealogical matters, is the less accountable, as the Penshurst MS was published in full by Collins in 1746 in *"Letters & Memorials of State"*.

In 1926 a suggestion was made that the entire holograph MS of Sir Philip should be reproduced in collotype in *"Elizabethan England"*. But on comparing it with Collins's printed version, the present writer found that the variations were of orthography and not of matter. It suffices therefore to give in collotype the first half page, in which Sidney emphasises that the abuse comes from a libeller who dare not sign his name; and is directed against one whose name is so linked with the service of Queen Elizabeth that to "go about to undermine the one" is to attack the other.

Incongruously, all Sidney's biographers from Zouch in 1808 up to the most recent, have been influenced by the unnamed libeller, instead of studying the answer made by Sidney.

Sidney's MS presents no difficulty to a reader accustomed to his hand; but the subjoined line by line transcript (with the same crossings out as the original,) will help a novice to read it:

of late There hath been printed a book in form of dialog to the def(aming)
of the Earl of Lester if at least full of the most vyle reproaches
which either a witt used to wicked and filthy thoughts can imagin.
in such manner truly, yt if the autor had as well fained new
names as he doth new matters a man might well have thought his
only meaning had been to have giuin a lively picture of the uttermost
degree of railing. A thing contemptible in the doer as proceeding from
a base and wicked tongue and such a tong as in the speaking dares
not speak his own name. odious to all estates since no man
beares a name of w^{ch} name how unfitli so ever to the person
by an impudent Lyer any thing may not be spoken, by all
good Laws sharpli punishd and by all ciuill companies lyke a
poisenous serpent auoided. but to the Earl himself in the cies
of any man who with cleer iudgments can valew things a trew
and sound honour grows out of these dishonourable falshods. since he
mai iustly say with as a worthy senatour of Rome once in Lyke case
did that no man these twenty yeaeres hath born a hatefull
hart to this estate, but that at the same tyme he hath shewd
His enmity to this Earl doing testifying theribi that singular honour unto
him that his faith is so lynked to her Maties seruice
[that to go] about to undermyne the one is [to attack the other].

NOTE: "A MIXTURE OF SOME UNTRUTHS."

"A wryter . . . must not sticke to confesse when he erreth; that the worse he may learne to avoyde, and knowe howe to followe the better. The confession of an errour betokeneth a noble and gentle mind."¹

Calumny once set in motion has long life; and even those who are aware of Froude's unreliability in other matters have followed him blindfold as to the character and career of Leicester. For example G. H. Powell in editorial notes to *"Memoirs of Robert Carey, Earl of Monmouth,"* *The King's Classics*, 1905, p. 109, calls Leicester "the undeserving and worthless favourite of our renowned Queen;" and this is still the prevalent tone.

One of the perversities of scholasticism during the 18th to 20th centuries is that whereas English Protestant historians ignore many tributes from foreign Catholic warriors to the high martial quality of Queen Elizabeth's defenders, they accept as gospel the mendacities which were set about in 1584-85-6 from abroad for the express purpose of discrediting her champion. For the King of Spain to have wished Leicester's fall was inevitable; the incongruity is that the ultra-Protestant Froude deceived himself into accepting and elaborating libels which emanated from persons in King Philip's pay.

A transatlantic writer remarks of Froude, "It is easy to criticise" but "hard to improve upon him." His "manner of presentation is inimitable. As to his matter, it is open to a good deal of criticism in details."²

Froude's mistakes, however, are more than "details"; and his breaking off his *"History of England"* at 1588, as if the defeat of the Armada were the end of the contest with Spain, was of itself a serious error in judgment; especially as on the title page of his first edition he had promised to carry the story to the death of Elizabeth.

As to his "manner of presentation" being "inimitable," it is not desirable to imitate a style which cloaks methods so inadequate to justice that unless a writer is able to "improve" upon them he should select some other profession than that of historian. The drawback of Froude is not merely that he is here and there inaccurate; any writer might inadvertently err in minor particulars. It is that the school of impressionist history, of which Froude and Macaulay are outstanding examples, is fundamentally unsound.

The labours, victories, defeats, wisdom, or errors of the dead should not be regarded chiefly

¹ Translating Horace's "very necessary observations." *"A Discourse of English Poetrie. Together with the Authors iudgment, touching the reformation of our English Verse. By William Webbe Graduate, Imprinted at London, by Iohn Charlewood for Robert VValley. 1586."* Arber's reprint, 1895. p. 92.

The present writer was told in 1923 that to publish the foregoing analysis of the libels, and so "upset" standard works, would give offence to "scholars." But if any student prefers fiction to fact, and does not wish to know what happened, but only to conform to whatever has been the fashion to allege, it is a misuse of the English language to apply the word "scholarship" to such a condition of mind.

² Conyers Read, *"Mr. Secretary Walsingham and the Policy of Queen Elizabeth,"* Oxford, 3 Vols. 1925. Vol. III. p. 453.

as so much paint on an artist's palette. It is not the historian's "manner," but the spirit and manners of the men who made history by their actions, which will help us to stretch our minds to a just comprehension of the struggle between opposing forces: an insight not possible when all are brought within the limits of one modern writer's style; and he acquainted with but a part of the duties they performed, or the reasons they set on paper to explain their ideas and intentions.

For thirty years, Lord Robert Dudley,—Earl of Leicester from 1564,—was one of the most conspicuous figures in the public life of England. Excepting only Sir William Cecil,—Lord Burghley from 1571,—no other Privy Councillor had so long a tenure of office. Elizabethan England is therefore turned topsy-turvy when these two statesmen, who in real life were intimate friends, working in harmony and for the same objects, are metamorphosed into foes, and the deeds of both perverted. The so-called *Leter* of 1584 imputes to Leicester an "invertebrate hate" of "the Treasurer"; presumably hoping thereby to create that emotion, or to incense Burghley against him. But Burghley's sympathy with Leicester was demonstrated even more fully after the publication of this attack than it had been before.

If Leicester in 1584 and '85 was called Nero and Heliogabalus, so Burghley in 1573 had been libelled as "Cataline," and accused of plotting with Sir Nicholas Bacon the death both of the Queen of Scots and Queen Elizabeth. The 1573 libel, "*A treatise of Treasons*," had been impudently dedicated to the Queen herself.¹ She, on the 28th of September 1573, had issued a Proclamation rebuking such English as, not being able openly to harm their country, were printing mendacious books in English, Latin, and other tongues; wherein under pretence of zeal for Her Majesty's safety they were bringing accusations of treason against two of her most devoted Councillors. Her subjects were bidden to pay no heed to such seditious slanders, and to deliver over to the Privy Council any copies of the offending books which might come into their hands.²

Nobody to-day takes "*A treatise of Treasons*" as a guide to the political dealings of Lord Burghley or Sir Nicholas Bacon. But the charges against these high officials, of keeping the Queen in their own hands that they might influence her to her destruction, are not one whit more fantastic than the libels upon Leicester, which are elevated into historical "authorities," and reprinted again and again. Inverting the actual relations between Leicester and Burghley is an error which may be traced directly to the "*Copie of a Leter*," 1584.

It was Camden and Naunton in the reign of James I, who began the re-circulating of the "*Vie Abominable*" falsehoods; Camden stating that Leicester's "detracting Emulators found large Matter to speak reproachfully of him; and, even when he was in his most flourishing condition, spared not to defame him by Libels not without a Mixture of some Untruths."

From these words, "*a Mixture of some Untruths*," readers have inferred that the defamation though erroneous in particulars included a substratum of fact.³ Camden ought to have printed Queen Elizabeth's and the King of Scots' Proclamations denouncing the libels; but he does not even mention these, nor allude to Sir Philip Sidney answering the "goosequill."

Camden's allegation that Leicester was "*a cunning time-server*" would more accurately apply to Camden himself, writing in 1615 after all those he deprecated were dead. The inaccuracy of his estimates of great personages, especially of Burghley and Leicester, was discovered by William Murdin, who, in 1759 when prefacing a large selection from the Hatfield MSS, emphasised the necessity of re-examining all Camden's assertions. The warning has been disregarded; and, from

¹ B.M. C.12.c.16. Circumstances of the arrival of this libel in England are described in Hatfield MSS. Cal. II. p. 55 et seq.

² "Tudor and Stuart Proclamations," 1910. Vol. I. p. 74

³ Vide "Athen: Cantab." 1861. E.E. p. 152, ante.

Camden's day onwards, our Universities have inadvertently inculcated in relation to these two Privy Councillors, Chancellors respectively of Oxford and Cambridge, such fundamental errors as this new and independent examination of the evidence must ultimately persuade them to reject for ever.¹

¹ In 1904 Messrs. Longmans, London, New York, and Bombay, republished the libel as "*History of Queen Elizabeth, Amy Robsart and the Earl of Leicester, being a reprint of 'Leicester's Commonwealth' 1641. 'No scandal about Queen Elizabeth, I hope.' The Critic. Edited by Frank J. Burgoine Librarian of the Lambeth Public Libraries.*" (Dedic: to Sir Edwin Durning-Lawrence, Bt., M.P.) 4to.

The quotation from Sheridan's "Critic" is ironically applied, the production being little except scandal. But the editor believed it to "throw considerable light" upon the life of Leicester and "the political history" of Elizabeth. It did not occur to him to compare it with Leicester's own writings. But he quoted, in illustration of the "Government animosity," extracts from a letter of 13th October, 1641, from Edward Nicholas to the Wardens of the Stationers' Company.

"I hear there is now printing at one Dawson's, a printer in Thames Street, a book called Leicester's Commonwealth . . . very scandalous to divers of the Lords ancestors . . . I pray give order forthwith to stay the printing or dispersing of any of those books until the Lords of Parliament or the Lords of the Council shall meet."

This was "*Leycester's Commonwealth: conceived, spoken and published with most earnest protestation of all Dutiful good will and affection towards this Realm, for whose good only, it is made common to many. Job the 20. Verse the 27. The Heavens shall reveale his iniquity, and the Earth shall rise up against him. Printed 1641*" (No name of printer.) and issue spelt 'Leicesters' and 'whereunto is added Leicester's Ghost' inserted. Doggrel verses, paged 1-34. There was also a quarto edition which the 1904 editor selected to reproduce in facsimile as the "most correct" and agreeing with "many of the manuscripts"; he does not say what manuscripts or where they are to be found. In referring to Dr. Drake's versions in 1706, two editions 8vo, and 1708, and again in 1721, he appears to believe the frequent reissues are indicative of the veracity of the composition. Rather are they the measure of popular and scholastic oblivion as to the totally different character of Leicester, appearing in his own voluminous correspondence, and also in the tribute of Spenser, after his death,—which we will quote in its chronological place.

CONTENTS OF "FLORES CALVINISTICI," 1585(6):
hitherto erroneously described as a translation of the "Leter" of 1584.

Title.

Verso: "2 Timoth, 3."

Prelims: *Ad Lectorum*, pp. 3-5.

Dedication in verse to the Prince of Parma, p. 6.

Satirical Verses *Ad Hollandos & Ad Angliam*, pp. 6-7. (A.4).

pp. 8-30 *Brevis descriptio vitae Roberti Dudlei, Comitis Leicestriae in Anglia.*

pp. 31 (misprinted 15)-40 *Vita Annae Bolenae Zwinglianae, Elizabethae Reginae anglie matris.*

pp. 41-43 *Flores Calvinistici . . . Ex Vita Thomae Cranmeri.*

pp. 43-44 *Ex Vita Hugonis Latimeri.*

pp. 44-46 *Ex Vita Poyneti Pseudo episcopi Wintoniensis.*

p. 46 *Ex Rebus gestis Gulielmi Covbrigii.*

pp. 47-58 *Ex Vita Ioannis Knoxij.*

pp. 58-64 *Flores Apostolorum de Formatae Synagogae Calvinianae in Gallia. Ex Vita Ioannis Caluini.*

pp. 64-94 *Ex Vita Theodori Bezae.*

pp. 69-72 *Flores Calvinistici eorum qui in Germania claruerunt.*

pp. 73-74 *Flores Seditiosae sectae Calvinianae in Belgio.*

pp. 74-78 *Quaedam proprietates Calvinatibus fere omnibus communes.*

There follows, pp. 79-80, a "Tabula Calvinisticae," showing the chief "Apostolorum & Pro-tectorum" of heresy in England, Scotland, Wales, France, Germany, and Belgium. With a list of Catholic lights in the same countries (pp. 82-84) including "Thomas Percy Northumbriae Comes & Martyr," executed for the Northern Rising.

Other matter up to p. 86; then *Ad Lectorum*, and *Finis*. Observe that only 28 pages relate to Lord Leicester. Even the most cursory examination would have revealed this; but the statement in D.N.B. that it is a translation of the "Leter" and of the "Vie Abominable" has been taken on trust till now, i.e., for forty-eight years.

FLORES
CALVINISTICI
DECERPTI
EX VITA ROBERTI
DVDLEI COMITIS LECE.

STRIAE IN ANGLIA; HOL-
landiae ac Zelandiae pro Elizabe-
tha Angliae Regina Gu-
bernatoris.

IOANNIS CALVINI, THOMAE CRAN-
meri, Ioannis Knoxij; aliorumque Protestorum &
Apostolorum scetze Zwingiane & Calviniane
in Anglia, Scotia, Gallia, Belgio &
Germania.

Per Iulium Briegerum diligenter & fideliter
collecti ex varijs scriptoribus tam Latinis,
quam Gallicis & Italicis.

IOB. C. 20.

Reuelabunt cœli iniquitates eius, & ter-
ra confusget aduersus eum.

NEAPOLI
Apud Joannem Baptistam Zangarum:
Anno M. D. Lxxxv.

*Title-page, now first reproduced, of "Flores Calvinistici," 1585(6):
from the collection of E. M. Tenison.*

Also in B.M.: Nos. 1017. a. 22; and G. 11821. And (a different edition) G. 1354. a. 25 (2).

The Dictionary of National Biography, Vol. XVI, 1888, (article Dudley, Robert, Earl of Leicester, by S(idney) L(ee)), describes "Flores Calvinistici" as Latin translation of "Copie of a Leter wryten by a Master of Arte in Cambridge," 1584, of which "La Vie Abominable" is the French translation. But on examining all three for "Elizabethan England," the Latin libel was found to be an entirely different work; as might have been realised from the title-page, in which Leicester is alluded to as Queen Elizabeth's Governor of Holland and Zeeland, an office he did not hold in 1584.

APPENDIX.

“THE LIBERTY OF THE PRESS.”

Queen Elizabeth's measures for prevention of “scurrilous libels,” 1585.

In Strype's “*Life and Acts of Archbishop Whitgift*” (Archbishop of Canterbury from 1583), Vol. I, p. 422, a statement is made which taken by itself has been misunderstood:¹

“*Anno 1585.* The liberty of the press now gave great occasion to the spread of sects and schisms: so that many disaffected books and scurrilous libels were daily published and dispersed.”

As we now mean the words “liberty of the press,” there was no such thing, nor ever had been in the Queen's reign. One of her earliest legislative acts had been the prohibition of any unlicensed publications. By “the liberty of the press” Strype meant that many printers in 1585 took the “liberty” of printing without license. He attributes to Archbishop Whitgift the repressive legislation which, though it was made more drastic during Whitgift's Archbishopric, had existed as to its main principles since 1559.²

“The Archbishop . . . thought it highly necessary to have a strict watch . . . to stop any copies going to the press, before they had been by the Bishop of the diocese or some reverent and able persons diligently read over. . . . This matter therefore the Archbishop acquainted the Queen with, and she therefore charged him and the Lords of the Privy Council duly performed, and so the Archbishop got a Decree in the Star Chamber for the restraining of such books.”

The “Rules and Ordinances” of 23rd June made by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Lords of the Privy Council in the Star Chamber Anno 28 Elizabeth, are printed in the same work.³ They would be easier understood if given side by side with the laws of 1st Elizabeth, to which they are a sequel. Moved by indignation as to the libels against Lord Leicester, the Queen in 1585 thought there were too many printers in England. Her aim, therefore, was to reduce the number of presses, and even of the staff of licensed printers. Every printer in possession of a press was commanded to report himself to the Warden of the Stationers Company within ten days. Printing henceforth was only to be permitted in London, Oxford, and Cambridge. Presses were to be examined at intervals by the Warden of the Stationers Company; and printers held responsible for any person or persons in their employ who “shall imprint or cause to be imprinted” any “book, work, copy, matter, or thing whatsoever” except as licensed.

The Penalties for disobedience were destruction of press and publications, prohibition from printing, and six months imprisonment without bail. Booksellers and binders were also punishable if they sold seditious books; and the Stationers Company were ordered to search their premises.

Printers' apprentices were to be restricted in number: Her Majesty's printer, 6 apprentices; Upper Warden of the Stationers Company, 3; Under Warden of the same, 2; Yeoman of the Stationers Company, 1; Oxford University, 1; Cambridge University, 1.

¹ For example, by Georges Connes in “*Le Mystère Shakespearien*,” p. 37.

² See *Eliz. Eng.*: Vol. I. p. 152.

³ Ed. 1822. Vol. III. p. 160.

"In the Archbishop's transactions for Uniformity," says Strype, "notwithstanding the great opposition made against him, he had the certain allowance and countenance of the Queen . . . and the favour likewise of other great men of the Court, as the Lord Treasurer Burghley, the Earl of Leicester, Sir Francis Walsingham, Principal Secretary, and Sir Christopher Hatton, Vice Chamberlain."

This is not sufficiently emphatic. Without the influence of those Councillors, and the approval of the Queen, the Archbishop would have been powerless.

During the last days of the reign of Philip and Mary, a bill had been read on November the 12th, 1558, in the House of Lords: "that no man shall print any book or ballad, etc., unless he be authorised thereinto by the King's and Queen's Majesty's license under the Great Seal of England." On the 14th this was again put before the Lords, and for the third time on the 16th; but it did not pass.¹ Queen Mary was then in her last illness: and on the 17th of November she died.

Presumably warned by the fact that the Bill had not passed, Queen Elizabeth seems to have dispensed with further parliamentary formalities, though not with ministerial advice. Of the many commands she issued on coming to the throne, this, the 51st, was one of the most important:

"Because there is great abuse in the printers of books, which for covetousness chiefly regard not what they print so they may have gain, whereby ariseth the great disorder of publication of unfruitful, vain, and infamous books and papers, the Queen's Majesty straitly chargeth that no manner of person shall print any manner of book or paper, of what sort, nature, or in any language whatsoever it be, except the same be licensed by Her Majesty by express words in writing, or by six of her Privy Council; or be perused and licensed by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the Bishop of London, the Chancellors of both Universities, the Bishop being ordinary and the Archdeacon also of the place where any such shall be printed, or by any two of them, whereof the ordinary of the place be always one. . . .

"And because many pamphlets, plays, and ballads be oftentimes printed, wherein regard would be had that nothing therein should be either heretical, seditious, or unseemly for Christian ears, Her Majesty likewise commandeth that no manner of persons shall enterprise to print any such, except the same be to him licensed by such of Her Majesty's Commissioners, or three of them, as be appointed in the City of London. . . .

"And if any shall sell or utter any manner of books or papers being not licensed as is above said, that the same party shall be punished by order of the said Commissioners, as to the quality of the fault be thought meet.

"And touching all other books of matters of religion or policy or governance that have been printed, either on this side the seas or on the other side, because the diversity of them is great and that there needeth good consideration to be had of the particulars thereof, Her Majesty referreth the prohibition or permission thereof to the order which her said Commissioners within the City of London shall take or notify.

"According to the which Her Majesty straitly chargeth and commandeth all manner her subjects and especially the Wardens and Company of Stationers to be obedient."

Then follows a clause explaining that these orders do not refer to such secular "authors

¹ *Journal of the House of Lords*, Vol. I. 539-540. (Bill in extenso, *Notes & Queries*, Nov. 23, 1850, p. 425).

and works in any language that have been heretofore commonly received or allowed in any of the Universities and schools," which works may be reprinted if desired.¹

This Royal pronouncement of 1559 should be borne in mind from first to last. The daily press of January, 1927, reported a lecture given to the Elizabethan Literary Society on the text that "ballads were the nearest approach to popular journalism." Alluding to the official censorship,—"criticism was sternly repressed,"—the lecturer (or the reporter) stated that nevertheless "frequently printed criticisms got out. These were secret and illicit forms of journalism, and if the offender was caught he was hanged."

But even if a ballad had contained incitement to assassinate the Queen, or levy war against her, or had adjured the people to conspire with foreign invaders, neither writer nor printer could have been hanged until tried and condemned for High Treason.² The usual penalties for printing illicit matter whether in verse or prose were confiscation, fine, and sometimes imprisonment. In the case of John Stubbe's protest against the French marriage, the punishment to him and his printer was loss of the right hand. This cruel sentence, under an unpealed Statute of Philip and Mary, we have already examined.

That the censorship was directed against publications held to be seditious, apparently inflicted no injury on literature as such: the embargo upon "vain and fruitless" publications prevented the flooding of the country with superficial or fatuous productions. The aim of men of letters was to please the most cultured tastes,—and the Privy Councillors, especially Leicester, Burghley, Hatton and Walsingham, were generous lovers of "all good learning."

The laws being understood, no further explanation is needed why the so-called "*Copie of a Leter wryten by a Master of Arte of Cambridge to his friend in London*," bore neither printer's nor author's name; nor why "*La Vie Abominable*" was issued surreptitiously in Paris; and why the only contemporary libel against Lord Leicester bearing an official license is the "*Flores Calvinistici*" of Julius Brieger, published in the Kingdom of Naples, the ruler whereof was Philip of Spain.

¹ Cardwell's "*Documentary Annals*," Vol. I. p. 229: "*Notes and Queries*," Nov. 23, 1850. p. 425. Not only the printers but binders were restricted; these last with a view to encouraging English arts and crafts. Foreign bindings were only allowed to be brought in if not for sale. "If any person resi[d]ent or inhabitant within this Realme, shall buy to sell againe, any printed booke brought from any partes out of the Queenes obedience" (i.e. outside the Queen's jurisdiction) "redy bound in boards, lether or parchment, he shall forf[et]it" six shillings and eight pence to the Queen and to the person who might sue for the same. Foreign books could be brought in "by engrosse" (wholesale) but not to sell "by retail." "If any Printers or Sellers of printed books, inhabited within this Realme, doe at any time in such wise enhance and increase the prices in sale or binding" to a "high and unreasonable rate, complaints of the 'partie grieved' could be made to the Queen, or the Lord Chancellor, Lord Treasurer, or any of the Chief Justices. Honest and discreet persons would enquire into the matter, and the said Lords should have power to "reforme and redresse" any injustices as to "the bynding of them." Vide *An Abstract of all the penal Statutes*, 1579, p. 38.

² See Holinshed, Anno Dom. 1583, An. Reg. 26: (1808, IV, p. 511). On 10 Janry 1584-5, "William Carter of the citie of London was there indicted, arraigned & condemned of high treason, for printing a seditious and traitorous book in English, intituled A treatise of schisme: and was for the same (according to the sentence pronounced against him) hanged, etc., at Tyburn, 11th January. And as 'seditious booke letters and libels,' were being spread about 'to inflame the hearts of our countrymen,' a book was issued to counteract them, 'A Declaration of the favourable dealing of His Majesties Commissioners,' etc. Reprinted in full, pp. 512-514; followed by 'The Execution of Justice' etc. pp. 512-522, which is sometimes attributed to Lord Burghley. See also Holinshed, p. 620, 5 July 1585.

APPENDIX.

“A CHILD OF GREAT PARENTAGE”:
ROBERT DUDLEY, LORD DENBIGH.

The first wife of Lord Robert Dudley (Amy Robsart) was childless. He had an illegitimate son by Lady Sheffield, when she was a widow and he a widower.¹ By his second marriage, late in life, with the widow of Walter Earl of Essex, he had only one child, Robert Lord Denbigh.

In one of Mary Queen of Scots' letters to Thomas Morgan, intercepted and now at Hatfield, she refers to Lady Arabella Stuart and Leicester's son as intended to be betrothed: “These children have been also educated in this idea, and their portraits sent to each other.” (This is likely, because Leicester was on friendly terms with Lady Arabella's grandmother, the Scottish Queen's gaoler.)

On the 16th December, 1582, Don Bernardino de Mendoza had written to King Philip:

“Leicester is on the look out to marry his son to a granddaughter of the Countess of Shrewsbury, who is in the same house as the Queen of Scots. . . . The most learned lawyers consider that, failing the Queen of Scots and her son, this young lady is the nearest heir to the throne. Leicester is trying to arrange this with the idea that the conspirators will put the King of Scotland out of the way,” and so forth.²

On the 17th of March, 1583, Don Bernardino from Paris alleged to King Philip that Leicester was persevering “in the marriage I have mentioned of his son with the granddaughter of the Countess of Shrewsbury, who after the Queen of Scotland they say is the nearest heiress.”

“*They say*” is a favourite phrase of Mendoza; but who “*they*” were he rarely explained. He seems not to have been aware that Leicester's son was at that time not yet three years old, and Lady Arabella also a small child. Writing as if the wedding were imminent, Mendoza alleged that Leicester “with Walsingham's aid” was “*thus trying to get his son made King in right of his wife.*”

“His relatives and friends have possession of the ports of entrance into the country. . . . The Queen of Scotland has earnestly pressed for the French Ambassador to let the Queen know of this design of Leicester's in connection with the marriage of his son, as she is certain that it would arouse her womanly jealousy, and make her very indignant. The Ambassador, however, has refused.”³

¹ The current fashion of alleging that son to be legitimate, and the connection with Lady Sheffield a “2nd marriage,” should be discontinued. The present writer heard of papers in a great private collection docketed in a 19th century hand, “The legitimacy of Robert son of Lady Sheffield” etc. On reading them over they were the proofs of his *illegitimacy!* The case will be treated under its date. This talented but erratic personage waited until his father and Queen Elizabeth were dead before he attempted to claim legitimacy.

² Cal: S.P.S. III. p. 426.

³ Cal: Ib.

The Ambassador, Mauvissière de Castelnau, must have known how impossible it was that Walsingham would or could cause Leicester's infant son to be "made King in right of his wife." *By the Act of 1571 it had been made treason for a subject to attempt to say who should be Queen Elizabeth's successor.*

Moreover, there was the warning of the 1st Duke of Northumberland's fate. His ambition to obtain the Crown for the Dudley family had brought him and the Nine Days Queen and the young King Consort to the scaffold.¹ Leicester, who in Queen Mary's day had been arraigned and condemned to death for assenting to his father's plans, did not intend repetition of such dangerous attempts. But he might legitimately have wished for his son a future match with Lady Arabella Stuart. There is at Woburn Abbey a portrait of her in early childhood, with a pet dog, two parrots on perches, and two love birds perched on her wrist. This may be the identical picture mentioned by the Queen of Scots.²

Of several portraits painted of little Lord Denbigh, none are known to survive.³ But a suit of armour traditionally said to have been made for him is still shown at Warwick Castle. The parents looked forward to a brilliant career for this adored son. Leicester's main apprehension was lest he himself might die while the child was still of "tender years." For this possibility he made every conceivable arrangement; and bequeathed to Lady Leicester the chief power over "hir sonne and mine" until the boy should come of age.⁴

The foreign-printed libel in English against Leicester, alleging him to be an incarnation of every devilish iniquity, threatened him with sudden calamities: and in July he was called away from the Court by news that Denbigh had been taken ill.

On the 19th, the illness ended fatally: a heart-breaking calamity for Leicester. While he was staggering under the blow, his friends plied him with exhortations. Sir Christopher Hatton wrote in the fashion of a Job's comforter:

"My singular good Lord,

"Your excellent wisdom, made perfect in the school of our eternal God, will, in the rule of Christian reason, I trust subdue those kind and natural affections which now oppress your own loving heart.

"What God hath given you, that hath He chosen and taken to Himself, whereat I hope you will not grudge; as well for that it is the executor of His divine will, as also for that He hath made him co-heir of His Heavenly kingdom. When . . . it shall please you to weigh the singular blessings and benefits which God hath conferred on you in the world, I nothing doubt you will be joyfully thankful; and accept this cross as the sign of His holy love, whereby you shall become happy and blessed for ever."

(Hatton himself had no son to lose.)

As "a most faithful and mighty supporter of the Church" Leicester was admonished not to give way to weakness; he being "*in the State and Government of this Realm a grave and faithful Councillor; a pillar of our long-continued peace; a happy nourisher of our most happy*

¹ E.E. Vol. I. Prologue, pp. 43-52.

² When Leicester died in 1588, his next heir was his brother Ambrose Earl of Warwick, who survived him only a short time, and died childless. Warwick's wife was a sister of the then Earl of Bedford, and it is reasonable to conjecture that Warwick's portrait (E.E. Vol. I. plate 45) might have come to the Earls of Bedford through her; and possibly also the picture of Lady Arabella. The child has an earnest anxious face, as if overshadowed with a premonition of sorrows to come.

³ Listed in inventory of pictures in Leicester House, &c. 1588. *Notes and Queries.* 3rd Ser.: Vol. II, pp. 224-226.

⁴ Unpublished holograph Will of 1581-2; unknown to the numerous writers who represent Leicester and his Countess as on ill terms with each other.

Commonwealth," and also an example of "*true nobility*" conspicuous for "*all virtuous actions towards God and man*," all of which graces "are the gifts of the High God." So "for God's sake and ours" he should not sink under his grief:

"Go on in your high and noble labours, in the comfort of Christ, which no man can diminish nor take from you; cherish yourself while it shall please God to let you dwell on earth; call joy to dwell in your heart, and know for certain that if the love of a child be dear, which is now taken from you, the love of God is ten thousand times more dear, which you can never lack or lose. *Of mens hearts you enjoy more than millions, which, on my soul, do love you no less than children or brethren.* Leave Sorrow, therefore, my good Lord, and be glad with us which much rejoice in you.

"I have told her Majesty of this unfortunate and untimely cause which constrained your sudden journey to London, whereof I assure your Lordship I find her very sorry, and wisheth you comfort even from the bottom of her heart. It pleased her to tell me that she would write to you, and send to visit you according to her wonted goodness; and therefore she held no longer speech with me of the matter.

"Thus remaining humbly at your Lordship's commandment, I forbear any longer to trouble you; beseeching God to comfort you, in your lamentation and grief, with the remembrance of His gracious goodness.

"From the Court at Nonsuch, the 21st of July, 1584.

"Your good Lordships humbly to command,

"CHR. HATTON."¹

From Leicester's reply we infer that the Queen's condolences had also taken the form of exhortations.

"Mr. Vice-Chamberlain.

"I do most heartily thank you for your careful and most godly advice at this time. Your good friendship never wanteth. I must confess I have received many afflictions within these few years, but not a greater, next to her Majesty's displeasure. . . ."²

"All men" are sinful in the eyes of God; but this child was "a most innocent lamb to help us all that are faithful." He wondered if the loss of this "poor innocent" would propitiate his enemies: "The afflictions I have suffered may satisfy such as are offended," or "at least appease their long hard conceits." "I know there is a blessing for such as suffer; and so there is for such as be merciful."

"Princes (who feel not the heavy estate of the poor afflicted that only are to receive relief from themselves) seldom do pity according to the true rules of charity, and therefore men fly to the mighty God in time of distress for comfort; for we are sure, though He doth chastise, yet He forsaketh not. . . .

"I beseech the same God to grant me patience in all these worldly things, and to forgive me the negligences of my former times, that have not been more careful to please Him but have run the race of the world.

"In the same sort I command you, and pray for His grace for you as for myself; and, before all this world, to preserve her Majesty for ever, whom on my knees I most humbly

¹ Add. MSS. 15891 f. 128: "Memoirs of the Life of Sir Christopher Hatton, K.G. . . . 1847." pp. 38x-382.

² Displeasure presumably in 1578 when he married.

thank for her gracious visitation by Killigrew. She shall never comfort a more true and faithful man to her, for I have lived and so will die only hers. 23rd July, 1584.

"Your poor but assured friend,

"ROBT. LEICESTER."¹

His reference to the "*long hard conceits*" of those who had ill-wished him does not appear to relate to foes in the Court circle, but to the libel, which had threatened, "*all kind of sorrow shall rush upon him*," "*his house shall be made open and pulled down*," and so forth; an attack sarcastically headed, "*Godly and profitable meditation. . . .*"

The child's death followed so soon upon these maledictions that we may wonder whether the libeller's outrageous accusations that year against Leicester, of having poisoned Walter Earl of Essex in 1576, were intended to distract attention from actual poisoning of Denbigh? Poison being most difficult to detect,—and no particulars discovered (as yet) of the illness,—no opinion can be formed.

Widespread sympathy was felt for the stricken parents; and many a scholar whom Leicester had befriended, came forward, and by "*learned and polished*" elegies promised to "*eternise*" the life cut short so early. Their volume of verse is one of the lost books of the Elizabethan era; we only know of it through a reference by Alexander Neville, when, three years later, in a Latin epistle to Leicester he presented to him a volume of memorial verses on Sir Philip Sidney.²

But though the Latin tributes have vanished, the epitaph is still legible on the tomb in the Beauchamp Chapel of St. Mary's, Warwick, not far from the Hospital which Leicester thirteen years previously had founded for disabled soldiers.

None who have now attained intimacy with Leicester's manner of writing need doubt that he composed the epitaph himself. All his pride of race is in it; and the same patient but sorrowful resignation which breathes through his letters.

"Here resteth the Body of the noble Imp³

ROBERT OF DUDDELY, BARON OF DENBIGH,

Sonne of Robert Erle of Leycester,

nephew and heire unto Ambrose Earle of Warwick, Brethren,
both sonnes of the mightie Prince John, late Duke of Northumberland,

that was cousin and Heire to Sir John Grey, Viscount Lysle,

cousin and Heire to Sir Thomas Talbot, Viscount Lysle;

grandson and Heire unto the Lady Margaret, Countesse of Shrewsbury
the eldest Daughter and Coheire of the noble Erle of Warwick, Sir Richard Beauchamp, here interred:

A Childe of great Parentage, but of farre greater Hope and Towardness.

Taken from this transitory unto Everlasting Life, in his tender age, at Wanstead in Essex,
on Sondaye the XIX of July, in the Yere of our Lorde God 1584:

*being the XXVI yere of the happy Reigne
of the most vertuous and Godly Princess Quene Elizabeth:*

*And in this Place layd up amongst his noble ancestors
in assured Hope of the Generall Resurrection."*

¹ Printed thus by Sir Harris Nicolas, 1847, op: cit: pp. 382-383 (Add: MS. 15891 f. 129.) but "R. Leicester" was the usual signature.

² E.E. under date 1587. The volume on Lord Denbigh is not in the British Museum, nor Bodleian, nor Cambridge University Library; and though sought by the present writer in many private libraries it still eludes discovery. Possibly after Leicester's death his illegitimate son might have bought up and suppressed all copies.

³ Elizabethan English for a small child.

(a) *CHILD'S SUIT OF ARMOUR MADE FOR ROBERT LORD DENBIGH,*
(son and heir of Robert Dudley Earl of Leicester, by his second wife, Lettice, widow of
Walter Earl of Essex).

Now in possession of the Earl of Warwick at Warwick Castle.

Notice part of a man's suit of armour close by; included in the photograph to show the relative proportions.

(b) *TOMB OF ROBERT LORD DENBIGH IN ST. MARY'S CHURCH,
WARWICK.*

Near the altar, on the south wall; with effigy showing the child in his long coat, and with a cap and double row of pearls; his head resting on a cushion, and the Dudley bear at his feet.

On the back of the tomb are the Dudley arms, with quarterings; and on the sloping moulding are the ragged staves, the meaning and origin of which are lost in the mists of antiquity.

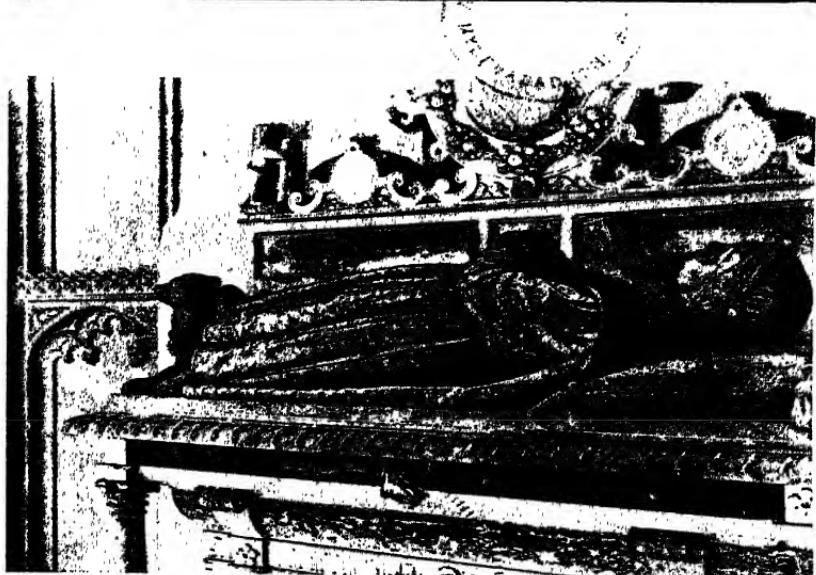
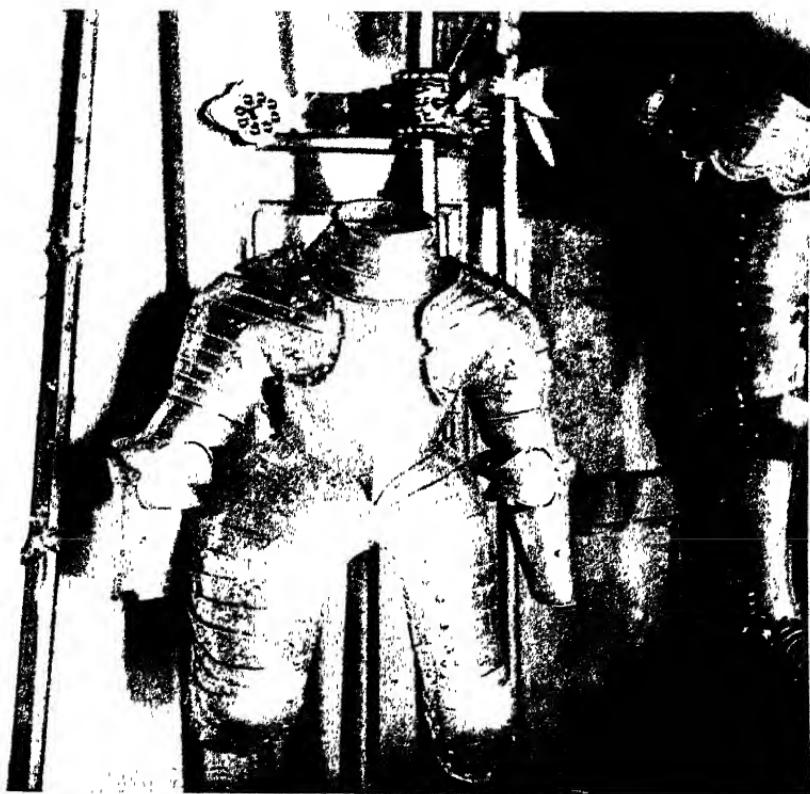
For inscription, see opposite.

All portraits of this little boy have vanished. In the 1588 Inventory of Leicester's possessions (*Notes & Queries*, 3rd ser: ii, pp. 50, 49, 225), is listed a picture of "The Countesse of Leycester whole proportion on clothe" (i.e. canvas) "my young lord standing by her, made by Hubberd, 1584." Another of "the yonge Baron Denbigh"; and "Item, a little chaire for a childe, of carnation & greene clothe & tinsell, with a cradell," these last valued at "xxs."

The book of elegiac verse written by sympathetic scholars having also disappeared, the effigy tomb in St. Mary's, Warwick, and the suit of armour are the only memorials of this "child of great parentage."

(Photographs, Harold Baker, Birmingham, for this work.)

(14) E. M. Tenison's "Elizabethan England," III. 1. 6(d).



"THE CHARITABLE DEEDS OF D. S." 1584.

*"Six houses of perpetuall releefe,
founded upon St. Peter's hill in Barnard's castell ward."*

Having seen Lord Leicester's Hospital, which still remains,¹ we should note also a good deed of "an ancient and charitable citizen of London." Not under his name but only as "D.S., embroiderer to the Queenes Majestie," Holinshed's Chronicle refers to him, when describing the "six proper houses in the forme of a quadrangle" which he built to give homes in perpetuity to six poor widows.

Though D.S. had eight children and twenty grandchildren, and only a "small store" of wealth, the six little houses, "all of bricke and stone," were planned and made "as stronglie as he could devise"; and over the entrance gate to them all, "these words of well wishing graven in stone: God save Ovr Noble Qveene Elizabeth Cheefe Fovnder of this Worke" (viz., that his employment as her Embroiderer was what had "advanced" him to sufficient means to be generous).

There was one house for every widow, and "twentie shillings a peece," paid quarterly, "to buie them wood and coles." (The cheapness of necessities as contrasted with the high price of luxuries is often to be noticed in Elizabethan money matters).

The recipients of this bounty were to be "good and godlie"; sixty years old (the giver's own age,) or "at the least" fifty-six. They might not lodge anybody else; though they could "lovinglie" receive their friends and "be merie" at "houres convenient." They must be cleanly, and careful to avoid infection. Their benefactor willed that they should attend church at "Saint Benets, neere Paules wharf"; unless they were ill. If absent from church when in good health, they should put two pence in the poor box afterwards.

Those who dwelt in the two houses next the street on either side of the gate were to "hang out one lanthorne between them both, and a whole candell in it burning, according unto the custom in the citie of London used in the winter season."

If any widow married again she was to forfeit her house.²

D.S. "laid out the most part of his substance" upon building this "poore widowes Inne"; and "in faire great letters round about the same" a rhyme was carved, bidding them "despise not the giver, but praise God therefore."

¹E.E., Vol. V, Plate II.

²Rules in extenso, Holinshed, ed: 1808, Vol. IV. pp. 548-550. An interesting volume could be compiled on the hospitals and almshouses founded and endowed by private individuals; also on those of royal foundation. (See E.E. Vol. I., p. 80.) Examples given in E.E. are only a few out of many. A recent pamphlet (of which 25,000 copies are alleged to be in circulation) claimed that compassion for the sick and poor is a product of modern thought; but it has all through the ages been a feature of Christian chivalry,—which has been defined as the readiness of the strong to protect the weak. See the present writer's *"Short History of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, 1014-1919,"* 2nd ed: 1922; and also *"The Knights of St. John in the British Empire,"* 1934, by Colonel E. J. King, C.M.G., A.D.C., M.A. (Oxon.) F.S.A. F.R.Hist.S., etc. Foreword by Major-General the Earl of Scarbrough, K.G.

HANDING ON THE TORCH: WALTER RALEIGH IN 1584.

The year after Sir Humphrey Gilbert perished on his homeward way, at the height of his hopes, his brother Adrian Gilbert and his half-brother Walter Raleigh secured permission from the Queen "for the discovering and planting of new lands and Countries." Though Newfoundland, annexed by Gilbert in Elizabeth's name, on 5th August, 1583, was fated not to be colonised until after her death, the Patents both of Adrian Gilbert and of Walter Raleigh were based upon the one drawn up for Sir Humphrey. (See Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations*, ed: 1818, Vol. III, pp. 297-301.)

When the veteran soldier and "penman" Thomas Churchyard had written of "*The Enter-tayntemente of the Queenes Maiestic into Suffolke and Norfolke*" in 1578, he appended "*A matter touching the Journey of Sir Humfrey Gilbarte, Knight*"; and "at the end of this discourse," for the "honouring of good mindes and travelling bodyes" he commanded in verse all those who had "presently passed towards a happy voyage, as I hope . . ." Actually the voyage was ill-fated. But Churchyard, in his generous love of valour, commemorated by name each and all "who with one mind and one concert" set themselves "to hit one marke":

"O Gilbart, Noble Knight,
God send thee thy desire,
O manly Knolles, and worthy Wight
whose heart doth still aspire,
I wish thee great renowne,
and noble Carie too,
And noble North, with Wigmore wise,
I wish you well to do.
O Rawley ripe of sprite
and right rare many wayes,
And lively Nowell, God your guide,
to purchase endless praise."

(Many more, each receiving a compliment).¹ Observe that Churchyard recognised "rare" qualities in Raleigh seven years before Mendoza was reporting him as the Queen's "*new* favourite." His aims in 1584 are best described in the Continuation of Holinshed's Chronicle, where Raleigh himself would have read the statements in 1586-7, and could have corrected them if inadequate.²

"In this yeare, even at the prime of the yeare, namelie in April," (the New Year then began on 25 March.) "maister Walter Raleigh, esquier, a gentleman from his infancie brought up and trained in martiall discipline, both by land and sea, and well inclined to all vertuous and honourable adventures, having built a ship and a pinesse, set them to the sea, furnished with all the provisions necessary for a long viage, and committed the charge of them to two gentlemen, . . .

¹ Verses reprinted in extenso (from Nichols' *Progresses of Q. Eliz.*) by William Gilbert Gosling, of St. John's Newfoundland, in "*Life of Sir Humphrey Gilbert*," London, 1911, pp. 172-182.

² For various spellings of Raleigh's surname, see E.E. Vol. VI, p. 3. note 1; and for the E.E. custom of spelling surnames or titles as the present representatives do, except when quoting MS or 16th century printed matter, see E.E. Vol. I. p. xvi.

The genealogical table, E.E., Vol. V, facing p. 182, shows at a glance how Walter Raleigh's lot was set among kinsfolk whose examples must have furnished inspiration from his early childhood.

Two (or more) portraits of Raleigh will appear in E.E. in their chronological places.

the one called Philip Amadis, the other Arthur Barlow; with direction to discover the land which lieth betweene Noremberga and Florida in the west Indies;¹ who according to their commission, made as sufficient a discoverie thereof as so short a time would permit: for they returned in August next following, and brought with them two savage men of that countrie, with sundrie other things, that did assure their maister of the goodnesse of the soile, and of great commodities that would arise to the realme of England, by traffique, if that the English had anie habitation, and were planted to live there. Whereupon he immediately prepared for a second viage, which with all expedition, (nothing at all regarding the charges that it would amount unto) did presentlie set in hand.²

"This countrie of Noremberga aforesaid (and the land on this side of it) sir Humfrie Gilbert, brother to sir Walter Raleigh, a man both valiant and well experienced in martiall affaires, did attempt to discover, with intention to settle an English colonie there, in the yeare 1578: having in his companie the two brothren, Walter and Carew Raleghs, Henrie Knolles, George Carew, William Careie, Edward Dennie, Henrie Nowell, Miles Morgan, Francis Knolles, Henrie North, and diverse other gentlemen of good calling, and ten sailes of all sorts of shipping, well and sufficiently furnished for such an enterprise, weighed anchor and set to the sea. But God not favouring his attempt, the journie took no good successe: for all his ships inforced by some occasion or mischance made their present retурne againe:³ that onlie excepted wherein his brother Walter Raleigh was capteine, who being desirous to doo somewhat worthie honor, tooke his course for the west Indies, but for want of vittels and other necessaries, . . . when he had sailed as far as the Ilands of Cape de Verde upon the coast of Affrica, was inforced to set sail and retурne for England. In this his viage he passed many dangerous adventures, as well by tempests as fights on the sea; but lastlie he arrived safelic at Plymouth in the west countrie in Maie next following.

"Sir Humfrie Gilbert notwithstanding this unfortunate success of his first attempt, enterprised the second time and set to the sea with three ships and pinesses, in the year 1584." (misprint for 1583) "in the which journie he lost his life . . ."⁴

The manner in which the chronicler, writing in 1586, goes back to Sir Humphrey Gilbert's efforts of 1578, leaves no doubt as to his recognising Gilbert and not Raleigh as the pioneer."⁵

¹ Mendoza in Paris heard a rumour that Raleigh was going in person. See 12th April, 1584, MS headed "Information sent from England by the correspondent left there by Don Bernardino de Mendoza," (Cal. S.P.S. III. No. 375. p. 500):—

"The ships that were being equipped for the Indies were stopped for want of money, and only Raleigh and Walsingham's son are going, with four small but well fitted ships, the largest being of 280 tons burden."

Walsingham never had a son; it was presumably his first wife's son, Christopher Carlisle.

² E.E. Vol. VI. pp. 3-4. ³ See E.E. Vol. III. pp. 102-106.

⁴ Holinshed: Ed: 1808, Vol. IV, pp. 533-554. And see E.E. Vol. IV, pp. 237-289.

⁵ It is a quarter of a century since William Gilbert Gosling of St. John's, Newfoundland, issued his "*Life of Sir Humphrey Gilbert*," London, 1911, showing from contemporary MSS the relative positions of Gilbert and Raleigh. So far as the present writer can ascertain, Gosling did not receive from England any academic recognition; but died believing his labours to have been in vain. See E.E. Vol. IV, p. 92, for a Note on his work. His few mistakes are where he relied on standard histories in general, after finding them defective about Gilbert in particular.

"Elizabethan England," being the first modern Elizabethan History to restore Gilbert to the place he held in life, the services of Gilbert's pioneer biographer may here be suitably "eternised" (as the Elizabethans would have said).

“FELLOWSHIP FOR THE DISCOVERY OF THE NORTH-WEST PASSAGE”:
1584(5).

*Adrian Gilbert's Patent from Queen Elizabeth (Patent Roll 1244: 26th Eliz: Pt. 8:
From a transcript lent by Commander Walter Raleigh Gilbert of Compton).*

“ELIZABETH by the grace of God, Queen of England, (et cetera) . . . to all to whom these presents shall come, greeting: forasmuch as our trusty and well beloved subject Adrian Gilbert of Sandridge in the County of Devon, Gentleman, . . . to his great cost and charge, . . . laboureth that the passage into China and the Isles of the Moluccas (by the North-Westward, North-Eastward or Northward, into which parts of the world, none of our loyal subjects have hitherto had any traffic or trade) may be discovered, known and frequented by the subjects of this our Realm: know ye therefore, that for the considerations aforesaid, we do give and grant free liberty, power and full authority to the said Adrian Gilbert, . . . and to those his associates and assistants whose names are written in a schedule hereunto annexed, . . . to sail . . . into all places whatsoever that by the said North-Westward, North Eastward or Northward, are to be by him or his associates or assigns discovered.

And also we do give to the said Adrian Gilbert and his said associates, for ever, full power and absolute authority to trade and make their residence in any of the said territories whatsoever with all . . . privileges and royalties both by sea and land, yielding and paying therefor unto us our heirs and successors the tenth part of all gold and silver, ore, pearls, jewels and precious stones; or the value thereof as the said Adrian Gilbert and his said associates, their heirs and assigns, servants, factors or workmen . . . shall find. The said tenth to be delivered duly to our Customer, . . . in the ports of London, Dartmouth, or Plymouth, at which three places only the said Adrian Gilbert and his associates shall lade, . . . and discharge all manner of goods and merchandises to the said new trade belonging.

And unto the said Adrian Gilbert and his said associates . . . we give and confirm this name peculiar . . . to wit the name of “The Colleagues of the Fellowship for the Discovery of the North West Passage,” and them . . . by that name do incorporate . . . to have continuance for ever . . .

And further for the better encouragement of our loving subjects in the discovery, we ordain . . . that the heirs and issues of them, . . . being born within any the territories before-mentioned shall have and enjoy all the privileges of free denizens, as persons native born within this our realm of England . . .

Moreover, . . . during the space of five years immediately ensuing, . . . it shall not be lawful for any persons . . . to visit . . . trade or make voyage to any territories not yet discovered by any of our subjects by virtue of this grant to be traded unto, without the special consent and good liking of the said Adrian Gilbert, his heirs or assigns first had in writing . . .

And further we give . . . full authority to the said Adrian Gilbert . . . that if it shall happen any one or more in any ship sailing on the said voyage to become mutinous, seditious, disorderly, or any way unruly, to the prejudice or hinderance of the hope for success . . . in this

discovery or trade . . . to execute upon him or them so offending such punishment, correction or execution as the cause shall be found in justice to require by the verdict of 12 in the Company sworn thereunto . . .

Witness Ourself at Westminster the 6th February 1584."

An attached schedule of the names of associates and assistants of Adrian Gilbert, for "the Corporation granted unto him by the name of the Colleagues of the Fellowship for the discovery of the North West Passage" includes:—

Edward Earl of Oxford.
 Francis Earl of Bedford.
 Robert Earl of Leicester.
 Sir Francis Walsingham.
 Sir Philip Sidney.
 Sir George Speke.
 Sir William Moore.
 Sir Francis Drake, Bernard Drake, Richard Drake.
 Edward Osborne, Lord Mayor of London.
 Sir Lionel Duckett.
 Walter Raleigh, Carew Raleigh.
 Edward Dyer.
 Gawen Champernowne.
 Thomas Smyth, Customer of London.
 George Barnes, Richard Martin and John Hart, Aldermen of London.
 Tristram Gorges.
 Lawrence Radford.
 Francis Penkevil.
 John Hawkins.
 Martin Frobisher.
 Arthur Gilbert.
 John Davis.¹

¹ The schedule is not published in Hakluyt's "Principal Navigations," 1589; but he printed in full "The Letters Patents of the Queenes Maiestie granted to Master Adrian Gylbert and others, for the search and discovery of the North-west Passage to China." This has been often reprinted. (See MacLehose's Hakluyt, 1904, Vol. VII, pp. 375—381). The habit in modern English history of dismissing the Gilberts casually, or leaving them aside and concentrating attention upon Raleigh, has not arisen from inaccessibility of Gilbert materials but from the tyranny of custom. As Raleigh himself said in his old age, "It is not Truth but Opinion that can travel the World without a passport." See "Elizabethan England," ante, Vol. II, pp. 163—5, 185, 192, 197, 209, 222; Vol. III, pp. 85—106; and Vol. IV, pp. 237—289, for Sir Humphrey's services.



PART III.

“Ambitious, Politic, and Valiant.”

CHAPTER I.

“IF YOUR MAJESTY HAD ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND.”

SECTION 7.

“To make her Realm as strong
as she may.”

(*The Oath of Association against all adversaries, English or foreign, Oct., 1584*).

“Her Majesty is to make her realm as strong as she may, to unite the hearts of her best subjects, to keep under the evil affected, to make some mass of money by all good means possible to provide for the strength of the Navy. . . .

“Finally that ought to be Alpha and Omega, to cause her people to be better taught to serve God, and to see justice duly administered, whereby they may serve God and love her Majesty, that it may be concluded *Si Deus nobiscum, quis contra nos?*”

Lord Burghley's Memoranda, October, 1584. Hatfield MSS. (E.E., p. 189).

“Forasmuch as Almighty God hath ordained Kings, Queens and Princes to have dominion and rule, . . . and having so gracious a Lady . . . reigning over us these many years, . . . we . . . do not only acknowledge ourselves most justly bound with our bodies, lives, lands, and goods in her defence, . . .” [but also] “do voluntarily bind ourselves . . . as well by force of armies as by all other means” to resist all her enemies “and to take the uttermost revenge of them that . . . we . . . can devise.”

The Oath of Association, October 1584. S.P.D. Eliz: CLXXIV. 6.

“. . . amongst other Expedients for the better providing for the Safety of the Queen's Person, a number of her subjects headed by the Earl of Leicester, men of all Ranks and Conditions, bound themselves mutually to each other . . . to prosecute all those to the death that should attempt anything against the Queen.”

“. . . the Glorious Life, Reign and Death of the Illustrious Queen Elizabeth, . . . 1682,” p. 169.

*LANTERNS OF THE FLAGSHIP OF HASAN: (HACAN CHIRIVI)
captured by the 1st Marqués de Santa Cruz, in the battle of Lepanto, 7th October, 1571.*

From the originals in possession of the present Marqués de Santa Cruz:

Shown in the Barcelona *Exposición Internacional* of 1929-1930 (2749), "Fanal de la galera capitana que tomó parte en la batalla de Lepanto, en la que iba el primer Marqués de Santa Cruz, D. Alvaro de Bazán . . . Sr Marqués de Santa Cruz, de Madrid."

"*El Arte en España. Guía del Museo del Palacio Nacional. Tercera edición revisada por el D. Manuel Gómez Moreno,*" etc. etc. Barcelona, 1929, p. 428.

LANTERNS OF THE FLAGSHIP OF PHILIP STROZZI:

captured by the Marqués de Santa Cruz in the battle of St. Michaels, July, 1582.

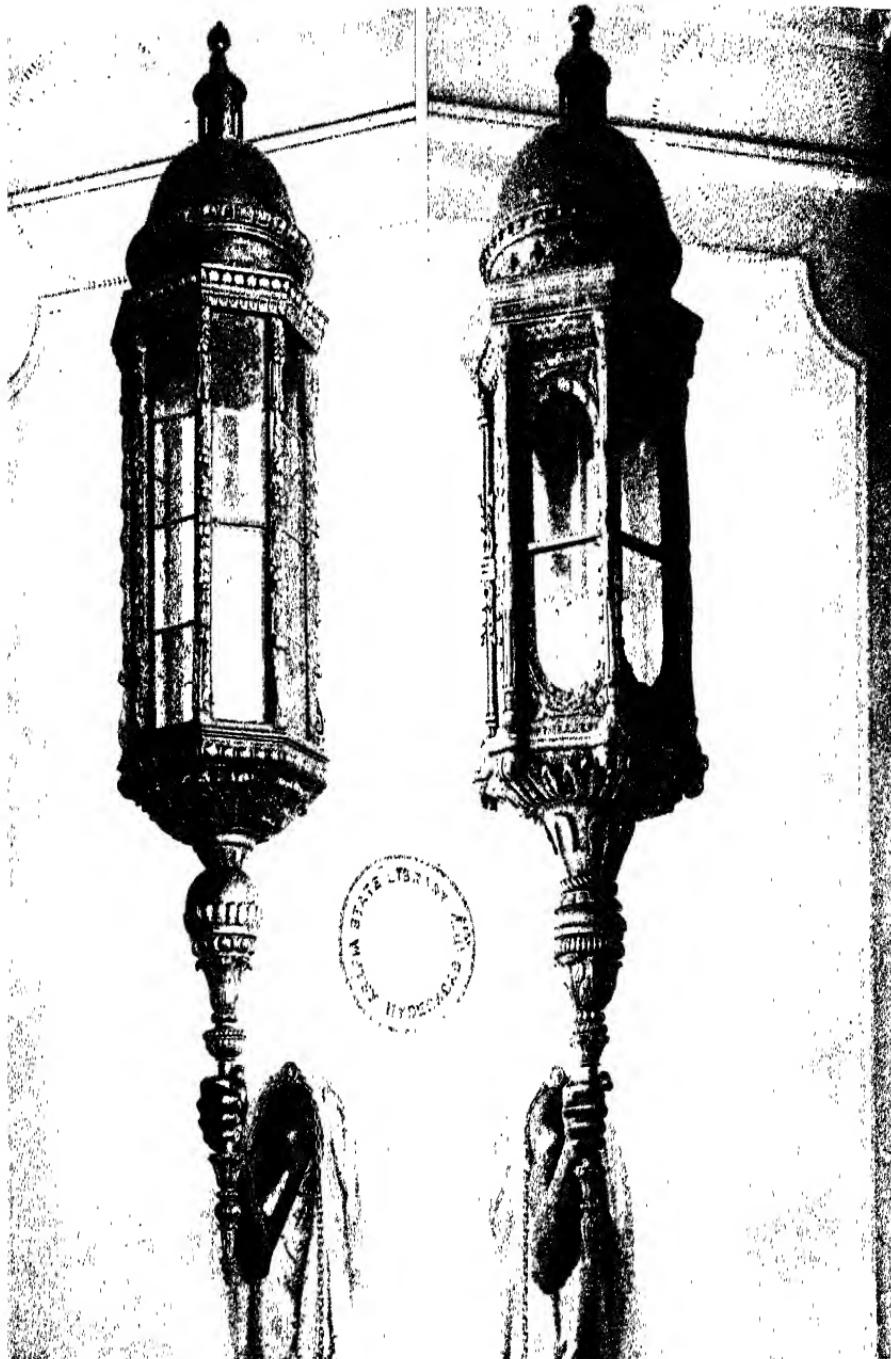
In possession of the present Marqués de Santa Cruz.

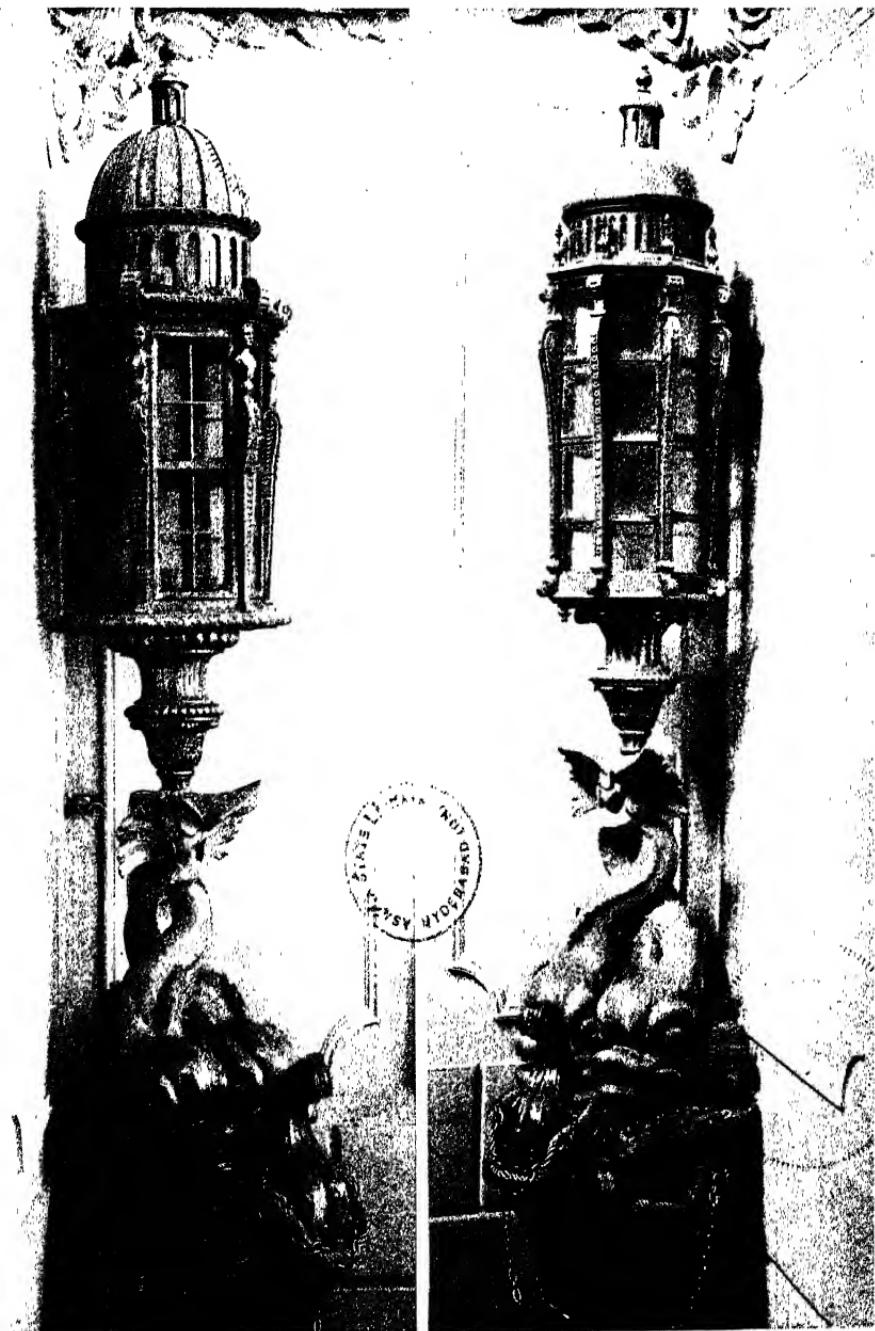
For description of the encounter see E.E. Vol. IV, pp. 165-215, and 291-304.

When, in the summer of 1585, King Philip appointed Santa Cruz his Captain-General of the Ocean Sea, these services at the Azores were recapitulated. (Commission now first published, from the original in possession of the Duke of Berwick and Alba. E.E. pp. 186-187.)

Notice that whereas the Turkish *fanal* is sculptured with the hand and chained arm of a negro slave to hold it up, the lantern of Strozzi's flagship is supported by dolphins, the emblem of the Dauphins of France.

For Notes on these lanterns, by the Marqués de Santa Cruz, see E.E. pp. 204-205.





PART III.

“*Ambitious, Politic, and Valiant.*”

CHAPTER I.

“**IF YOUR MAJESTY HAD ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND.**”

SECTION 7.

“**To make her Realm as strong
as she may.**”

(*The Oath of Association against all adversaries, English or foreign,*
Oct., 1584).

SOON after Don Bernardino de Mendoza was expelled from England, the building of the Escorial was completed: the palace, church, and monastery of San Lorenzo, of which King Philip had laid the foundation-stone on St. George's Eve, 1567, in token of gratitude to Heaven for his prosperous reign, and especially for the victory won ten years earlier (1557,) on St. Lawrence's Day,—with the aid of the English troops. But this assistance he did not commemorate in the Charter.¹

The Escorial, the pride of Spain and “Marvel of the World,” was to be decorated by Philip with works of all the most famous contemporary painters,—he believing that it would for ever glorify Spanish arts and arms.²

Having completed the building, which had been more than quarter of a century in process of erection, the King proceeded, on St. John's Eve the same year, to commission the Marqués de Santa Cruz as Captain-General of the Ocean-Sea; because of the “great valour” and skill he had shown in the Conquest of the Azores.

¹ See “*Carta de fundacion y dotacion de San Lorenzo el Real, ortogada por el Catolico Rey Don Felipe II a 22 de April de 1567.*” pp. 5-6 of “*El Monasterio de S. Lorenzo el Real de el Escorial y La Casita del Principe . . . autor el P. Fr. Julian Zarco Cuevas Religioso del Mismo Monasterio Segunda Edicion Imprenta del Real Monasterio del Escorial 1924.*” (With Imprimatur). For unique Spanish drawing of the Escorial in process of building, first published in E.E., see Vol. III, plate 13, and Portfolio, plate 3.

² That 16th century Spain would be excluded in the 20th century from the current English handbook on “*The Renaissance*” (Home University Library, a series aspiring to embody the ultimate results of scholarship,) would have been incredible if predicted in Philip II's day.

This pronouncement of "Don Philip by the grace of God King of Castile, Leon, Aragón, the two Sicilies, Jerusalem, Portugal, Navarre" etcetera, has not hitherto been published in England.¹

"Forasmuch as the voyages of the subjects and natives of my realms have been so greatly extended to both the Indies and their Islands, . . . throughout the Ocean, And considering the importance of providing guard and defence for the gold and silver and other commodities . . . that are carried in fleets as well from the West Indies as from the East Indies, It being right to aid and protect them against the pirates and corsairs who go about so boldly, and who should be given well-deserved chastisement whenever they can be caught," it was necessary to select as Captain-General of the Ocean Sea, a personage of "authority and experience to command the fleets I shall assemble, as well for clearing the seas of the said enemies and Corsairs as for other enterprises and purposes. . . ."

Don Alvaro de Bazán, Marqués de Santa Cruz, is informed he is chosen for this charge, because of "the great zeal you had and have in the service of God Our Lord, and in my service; and your great practise and experience in matters of the sea"

After harking back to this veteran's exploits in the reign of the Emperor Charles, His Majesty commands also "*in particular [how] you served me in the battle . . . fought in the Island of San Miguel against that [fleet and army] which came from France in support of D. Antonio, Prior of Crato, in the year '82: of which [force] Philip Estroci was in command: and being routed and defeated fighting, was killed . . .*"²

"Also in that battle which in the following year '83 you fought . . . against the French, and against the natives who held out contrary to their obedience due to me in the Island of Terceira, . . . where after coming into port in the creek of Las Muelas, you landed with great difficulty, owing to the resistance offered by the enemy's artillery, posted . . . in the roads of the Port and in the forts: you, with your great valour and effort so fighting them that they surrendered to you, and delivered up their arms and banners."

The treachery of the French on this occasion, we should remember; and the execution of the Governor Emanuel de Silva, Conde de Torres Vedras.³ But in the Commission the Tercereans are described euphemistically as "*many of them having died*," and others "*departed*": after which "*all the said Islands were reduced to my obedience and service*."

King Philip expressed his confidence that Santa Cruz in the future as in the past, would prove his "*great love and attachment*;" wherefore he put him in command "*of all the fleets of the great ships, zabras, pinnaces, caravels, and other*

¹ Nor (so far as can be ascertained) in Spain. "*Titulo e ynstrucion de Capitan General del Mar Oceano a Don Alvaro de Bazan Marquez de Santa Cruz Año 1584.*" "Yo el Rey." Now first translated from the original, in possession of The Duke of Berwick and Alba. Palacio de Liria MSS.

² See E.E. Vol. IV, pp. 165-215.

³ Ib: pp. 295-304.

vessels and ships which are at present armed, and will be armed immediately, . . . for the purpose of pursuing corsairs, and averting the damage they would do in the headlands and Islands, the sea routes of the Indies Occidental and Oriental . . . As also [to be Commander General] of other ships . . . which I shall order to join and serve in whatsoever new enterprise offers itself . . . ”

Santa Cruz, within a certain area, could use for the royal service any and every ship he considered suitable. As to officers, “I promise and assure them that I will be liberal towards them, and will pay the salaries and transport-monies offered . . . to them by you . . . for all the time in which they serve me . . . ”

Santa Cruz is given absolute power of jurisdiction civil and criminal, over high and low. And “for the preservation and defence of my realms, domains, and states, and the wiping out of pirates as aforesaid,” all officials and subjects ashore, “major and minor, of what rank or dignity soever,” and all who serve by sea, are commanded to “obey and honour” him and do his bidding, “in the same manner that they would and should if I in person gave the orders . . . ”

There follow, particular instructions, even as to how despatches are to be carried; and a reiterated assurance that all privileges of previous Captains-General, according to precedents of the Emperor Charles are combined in the powers conferred upon Santa Cruz: according to “the present charter signed by my hand and sealed with my seal, in the Royal Palace of Saint Laurence, on the 23rd of June, 1584.”¹

The “new enterprise intended” was the conquest of England.

Burghley’s memoranda of “sundry things to be executed in this realm to withstand perills” show he had been preparing, the previous February, for “martiall defence either against rebellion or invasion.”

The Musters were to be made especially in the Maritime Counties; and “persons of trust, credit and knowledge” to be sent on behalf of the Queen to report on the “state and condition” of the forces. Burghley was evidently not fond of Committees; he adds that “one sufficient gentleman” would “do more good being sent from Her Majesty, than the work of all the Commissioners in double the time.” Two such gentlemen for Cornwall and Devon; two for Dorset

¹ “. . . uno de los otros capitanes generales del Mar Oceano pasados en virtud de los titulos que del Emperador y Rey mi Señor que santa gloria aya y mis tuuieren y los unos ni los otros no jagades ende al en manera alguna porque esta es mi determinada voluntad y asi cumple a mi servicio y dello mande dar y di la presente firmada de mi mano y sellada con mi sello en San Lorenzo El Real. A Veinte y tres dias del mes de junio, de mill y quinientos y ochenta y quatro anos. Yo el Rey.”

Added to this Commission is a memorandum signed by Juan Delgado, Secretary of His Catholic Majesty, that “In the town of Madrid, at three days to the month of December, 1584, at the Council of War of His Majesty, the Marqués de Santa Cruz . . . swore that . . . he was bound by his promise to be truly faithful and law-abiding in the use and exercise of the charge of Captain General of the Ocean Sea . . . ”

For special *Instructions*, see E.E. App: pp. 199-203.

and Somerset, two for Hampshire, Wilts, and the Isle of Wight, two for Sussex and Kent, and two for Essex and Suffolk, should be enough.

The Commissioners meanwhile are to inspect the coast, to decide where to have trenches made; and ascertain that the beacons are in order; also that the Captains shall know by signals where to march as soon as an alarm is given.

The Royal Navy must be ready; and the "great ships of the Realme," many from the Merchant Navy, must be "stayed from their voyages, to join with Her Majesty's Navy." Of this combined fleet, there would be three squadrons: the first near the Scilly Isles, the second round about the Isle of Wight; and the third off Harwich. If the invader comes from the West with the intention to land at Milford Haven (then one of the chief Queen Elizabeth's harbours,¹) the forces round the Scilly Isles shall follow him. If the troops in Wales are known to be in good readiness, the foe will not be eager to land, with soldiers in front of him and the Navy "in his tail."

Burghley conjectured alternative plans of King Philip; including the possibility that not England but Flanders or Zeeland would be the first objective; or that an attempt might be made "to pass towards Scotland." He goes into the "devices" how to "lessen the charges" for the Queen's ships and the subject's ships. For "comfort" of the people of the sea coast, he would have all the forts "supplied with munition and the places repaired, . . . the ditches of Portsmouth scoured," and the forces mustered every week.

Also he states that some of the "principal officers" of the Royal Navy must by turn be always on duty; and "the Queen's Navy be strong upon the seas" in perpetual readiness. Otherwise Portsmouth, Sheppey and Harwich would be in danger.²

In "*Drake and the Tudor Navy*," (1898), instead of quoting Burghley's lucid and comprehensive memoranda on the situation at this juncture, Corbett dismissed it as "faulty," and substituted his own fancies as to "pressure from commercial circles," and "Colonial policy" in the days when England possessed no Colonies.³ It has never been published until now. Let us therefore the more attentively mark also the ensuing words of Burghley.⁴

"The King of Spain hath shown his manifest attention many ways to attempt violence to the Queen's Majesty and her true and obedient people, and there is no trust to be had as to his quiet neighbourhood when he hath overcome Zeeland and Holland and hath the possession of their havens and ships, *for he*

¹ And still so remaining when "*Cymbeline*" was written.

² Further particulars, E.E., App. pp. 43-45, ante.

³ In 1583 Sir H. Gilbert's death delayed the colonising of Newfoundland.

⁴ "Questions &c. touching the Low Countries, on the Death of the Prince of Orange." Hatfield MSS. Cal.: III. pp. 67-69. No. 108. 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ pp. With Lord Burghley's marginal notes.

*is like to be able by his great riches to continue an army on the seas which neither England nor France jointly shall withstand."*¹

As to his antagonism to England, and "mortal enmity against all persons not of Romish Religion, He is by the Pope and his ghostly father not only by persuasion enjoined, but upon pain of damnation adjured thereto."

"He hath put to death both his own subjects found suspected of contrary religion and all the Queen's subjects in Spain who show but mislike of his religion There is no hope of alteration of his hatred but rather an increase, by reason of the increase of his worldly successes in gaining Portugal and the East Indies, and lately in recovering the greater part of Flanders, Artois and Hainault."

The murder of the Prince of Orange has removed the one "who of all men" had been the greatest impediment to Spanish projects.

Though Burghley notes "*Objections to the Protection of Holland and Zeeland by the Queen*," these appear to have been drawn up for the express purpose of being answered. "Her Majesty is to call a Parliament to show the just cause of her actions and to obtain a subsidy." And even if it be thought fit for the present to forbear active aid to the Netherlands, and "*to await the King of Spain's victories*,"

"Her Majesty is to make her realm as strong as she may, to unite the hearts of her best subjects, to keep under the evil affected, to make some mass of money by all good means possible, to provide for the strength of the Navy"

"Finally that ought to be Alpha and Omega, to cause her people to be better taught to serve God, and to see justice duly administered; whereby they may serve God and love her Majesty, and that it may be concluded *Si Deus nobiscum, quis contra nos?*"

A letter of the Privy Council, addressed to the Warden of the Cinque Ports, Lord Cobham, dated from Hampton Court on the 18th of October, 1584, shows the methods for Parliamentary representation:

"You shall understand that the Queen's Majesty, for divers especial considerations, is determined to call Parliament together . . . next month. And for the better advancement of the benefit of the realm, and redress of sundry inconveniences, Her Majesty is desirous that there should be great care used in the choosing of the burgesses, that they may be both of good dispositions and sufficiency."

The Council therefore prays and requires Cobham in the Queen's name, "to deal with all the boroughs within the Cinque Ports, and to exhort them, with such persuasions as you shall think meet, to have an especial regard in their choice of burgesses for this Parliament, that they may be not only discreet and sufficient persons but known to be well affected"

The Warden, by "good advice and direction," is to make sure of a suitable

¹ A marginal annotation is added by Lord Burghley "The confession of many persons taken, as Creyton etc. and of the papers of discourses agreeable with Throckmorton's confessions." Hatfield MSS, Cal: III. p. 68.

choice of representatives, “*to the end that there may ensue that good of this general assembly which is hoped for, both for the advancement of the glory of God and benefit of the realm.*”¹

We now come to the measure devised by Queen Elizabeth’s chief Councillors to protect her from a fate similar to that of the Prince of Orange; namely the “*Instrument . . . for the Preservation of Her Majesty’s Royal Person.*” It was remembered in popular Protestant literature for more than a century, and extolled as counteracting not merely “*seditious libels*” and “*the practices of the Papists*” in England, but as averting the “*invading of England by the Catholick Princes*”:

“all possible Precautions were taken for the preventing of that invasion: amongst other Expedients for the better providing for the Safety of the Queen’s Person, a number of her subjects headed by the Earl of Leicester, men of all Ranks and Conditions, bound themselves mutually to each other by their Oaths and Subscriptions, to prosecute all those to the death that should attempt anything against the Queen.”²

Before the Lords of the Parliament were called upon, the Privy Councillors solemnly took “*a vow and promise before the Majesty of Almighty God, with their whole powers, . . . to serve and obey the Queen and defend her against all Estates, Dignities, and Earthly Powers whatsoever, and to pursue to utter extermination all that shall attempt or give consent to anything that shall tend to the harm of Her Majesty’s Royal Person; or to any who claim succession to the Crown by the untimely death of Her Majesty; vowed and protesting in the presence of the Eternal and Everlasting God to prosecute such persons to death.*”³

This oath was to be taken by every member of both Houses of Parliament, for themselves and those they employed, and by the country gentry, the Justices of the Peace, the clergy, the chief yeomanry, and many others.

It was an active defensive alliance, calculated to proclaim to Spain that England was not to be taken by surprise. But in our own day it has been distorted out of recognition, by being held up as “the first time in our history that anything approaching a *plébiscite* had been attempted which should express a decided vote of confidence in the Sovereign.”⁴

To have put it to the “*vote*” whether the Queen should be protected or not,

¹ Signed by the Lord Chancellor (Bromley), by the Lord Treasurer (Burghley), by the Earl of Leicester, Sir Christopher Hatton, Mr. Secretary Walsingham, and others. *Hatfield MSS.* 113. Cal: III. p. 71.

² “*The History of the Glorious Life, Reign, and Death of the Illustrious Queen Elizabeth . . . By S. Clark . . . London . . . 1682.*” p. 169.

D.N.B. article on Leicester credits him with having originated the idea; but D.N.B. article on Queen Elizabeth makes Walsingham and Burghley responsible, and ignores Leicester.

³ Dated at Hampton Court, 19th Oct: 1584. Signed and sealed by thirteen of the Privy Council then present. S.P. Dom: Eliz: Vol. CLXXIV. Epitome, Cal: 1581-1590. p. 210 (B.M. No. 2076.e.) E.E. App. pp. 206-207. See also *Hatfield MSS.*, Cal: III. pp. 72, 75, letters of Lord Burghley to Lord Cobham, and Sir James Hales to Lord Cobham.

⁴ *Dict: Nat: Biog.* Vol. IV. p. 220. Article, Queen Elizabeth, by Augustus Jessop.

would then have appeared the acme of absurdity. Let us observe the wording:

"Forasmuch as Almighty God hath ordained Kings, Queens and Princes to have dominion and rule over all their subjects," even as all Sovereigns are responsible to God the King of Kings, so are subjects answerable to Sovereigns: to withstand "all manner of persons" who may intend anything dangerous to the honour, estate, or persons of the said Princes.

And as there are some who desired treacherously to take the life of the Queen, "we" voluntarily "bind ourselves . . . in the bond of one firm and loyal society;" and, "in the presence of Almighty God, do swear, with our whole powers, bodies, lives, lands and goods, and with our children and servants," to serve Her Majesty "against all earthly powers whatsoever;" and to "offend and pursue, as well by force of armies as by all other means, . . . all manner of persons . . . that shall attempt . . . or consent to anything" of a treasonable nature. And if any such attempt" be taken in hand, or any person pretend title to this Crown "by the untimely death of Her Majesty . . . we . . . vow in the presence of God" with our "joint and particular forces to resist them to the uttermost," and take all possible means for the "utter overthrow" of any such.

Moreover, if any who have taken this Bond, dare in future, either for fear or for reward, to break away from the Association, they shall be reckoned as "*perjured persons, and as public enemies to God, our Queen and our native country*," and punished accordingly.

The intellect of man could hardly have devised a more effective retort to the machinations of Mendoza.

This "Instrument," a necessary measure from the point of view of the Queen's defenders, placed her Catholic subjects in an even more sorrowful plight than before. It was fourteen years since Pope Pius V had forbidden them to obey her authority; a command which, as King Philip foresaw, inevitably provoked more repressive legislation.¹ The English Catholics (we must repeat) were thenceforth in the desperate predicament that if they obeyed the Pope they came under the laws against foreign jurisdiction; and if they obeyed the Queen they risked being excommunicated in her company.²

The English, who even in Catholic days had not always been submissive to Rome, were less and less disposed to accept the decision of the Vatican as to who should or should not rule them. And the feeling which was aroused among the masses by the new Oath of Association is reflected in "*A famous dittie of the joyful receaving of the Queens moste excellent maiestie by the worthy citizens of London*,

¹ E.E. Vol. II, p. 49.

² In our own day the matter has become vague; but Camden gave the Declaration in full; and Speed, *Historie of Great Britaine*, 3rd ed: p. 1151-152, printed the Bull of Pope Pius, "transcript . . . from the originall it selfe," and translation, pp. 152-153. Unless we have the Pope's own words, neither the position of the Catholics nor the policy of Queen Elizabeth can be fully understood: yet even in Meyer's "*Catholic Church under Queen Elizabeth*," (1915) only a few lines of quotation are given. See E.E. Vol. II. pp. 44-48, for reproduction of Declaration in full.

the xij day of November, 1584, at Her Graces coming to Saint James. To the tune of Wigmores Galliard¹

“The twelfe day of November last,
 Elizabeth our noble queen
 To Londen-warde she hiēd fast,
 Which in the country long had been.
 The citizens went then apace
 On stately steeds to meet her grace,
 In velvet coats and chaines of golde
 Most gorgiously for to beholde.
 Each company in his degree
 Stood orderly in good array
 To entertaine Her Majesty
 As she did passe along the way.
 And by each man did duly stand
 A wayter with a torch in hand,
 Because it droue on toward night,
 Along the way her grace to light.
 The people flockt there amain,
 The multitude was great to see,
 Their joyful harts were glad, and fain
 To view her princely majestie,
 Who at the length came riding by,
 Within her chariot openly;
 Even with a noble princely train
 Of Lords and Ladies of great fame.”

“Courteously” she paused to hear the “*humble supplication*” of a poor man; and as she passed between rows of kneeling people, they

“cried with might and main
 O Lord preserve your noble gracie
 And all your secret foes deface.”
 “What traitors hart can be so hard
 To hurt or harm that princely flower;
 What wretch from grace is so debard
 That can against her seem to lower.

The diamond of delight and joy,
 Which guardes her country from annoy,
 A most renownēd Virgin Queen
 Whose like on earth was never seen.

In many dangers hath she been,
 But God was evermore her guide;
 He wil not see our gratiouse Queen
 To suffer harm through traitors’ pride.

Lord send her long and happy daies
 In England for to rule and reign,
 God’s glory evermore to raise,
 True Justice always to maintain,

¹ By Richard Harrington, B.L. “*At London: printed by Edward Alde for Yarall James, and are to be sold in Newgate Market against Christ Church gate. 1584.*” Reprinted in “*A Collection of seventy-nine Blackletter Ballads and Broadsides printed in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth . . . 1867.*” pp. 182-186.

The tune is in Ballot’s MS. Lute Book, and has been printed in Chappell’s “*Popular Music of the Olden Time*,” p. 242.

Which now these six and twenty years
So royally with us appears.
O Lord preserve our noble Queen
Whose like on earth was never seen."¹

On the opening of Parliament, 23rd November, 1584, the Earl of Leicester Lord Steward of the Household, administered the oath to the Treasurer, and the Controller of Her Majesty's Household; also to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Walter Mildmay.²

The Commons were then summoned to the Upper House, "as many as conveniently could be let in." The Lord Chancellor bade them choose a Speaker, for which purpose they returned to "their own House," and selected Serjeant Puckering. But he was not presented to the Queen until the 26th, when he made the usual request that the House be permitted free speech. This was granted, on condition that the "liberties and privileges" were used "with moderation and reverence."³

The first Bill was "for better and more reverend observing of the Sabbath day"; the Vice Chamberlain Sir Christopher Hatton, also Sir Francis Drake, and Sir

¹ In "The Politics of Shakespeare's Historical Plays," Article X, *New Shakespeare Society's Transactions*, 1874, Simpson painted a dark picture of Queen Elizabeth's unpopularity, which he represented as steadily increasing in the latter part of her reign. But he had not studied the ballads; and was misled by the piteous complaints of Verstegan, alias Rowlands, who as a Catholic Recusant and an adherent of the Queen of Scots, had acute reason to detest Elizabeth; but who is no guide to the general sentiments of the English people.

² This same year Mildmay founded Emmanuel College; where his portrait still exists; painted by order and at the expense of the College, the year before his death.

Inscribed on the panel, to the left of the head, "AN DNI 1588 AETATIS SUAE 66. VIRTUTE NON VI"; and around the frame "Effigies honoratissimi viri GVALTERI MILDMAII equitis aurati cancellari fisci regii reginae maiestatis a consiliis et liberarissimi huius collegii, EMMANUELIS fundatoris Anno Dni 1584."

There are also at Emmanuel six other portraits of the founder; including a pair of him and Lady Mildmay, (panel) ten years before the College was founded. These are inscribed respectively, at the left of the head:

A^o DNI 1574:
AETATIS 53
VIRTUTE NON VI;

A^o DNI 1574.
AETATIS SUAE 46.

with later inscriptions at lower right hand corner "Sir Walter Mildmay" and "Lady Mildmay wife to Sir Walter."

Mary, Lady Mildmay, has dark blue eyes, with same pale complexion and dark brown hair as her brother Principal Secretary Walsingham. Her picture is a small half length (panel, 32 x 34 inches). She is dressed in black, with black headgear, and no ornaments except her white ruff, a gold chain round her neck, and a red jewel in a ring on her right hand. She stands beside a green-covered table, holding a fan in her left hand. A green curtain to the right, and a pillar on the left form the background. The pair of portraits were formerly at Apethorpe, and were purchased by the College at the Earl of Westmorland's sale in 1892.

³ *Journals of all the Parliaments, &c.* pp. 332-333.

Richard Grenville being amongst those present.¹ The Bill was criticised in its first form, and did not pass until the 17th of March following.

“The Bill against Jesuits, Seminary Priests and such like disobedient Subjects,” passed the House on a third reading, and was sent up to the Lords. There was “little or no Argument,” except from Dr. Parry, who protested it was “full of blood, danger, despair, and terror or dread.”

He expressed himself in such “violent terms” that he was ordered to be sequestered in the outer Room, while his speech was debated. When he was called back, he held to his opinion; made “speeches in his own commendation,” and said he would only disclose his further reasons to the Queen herself. This being held as “contempt of this House” he was again committed to the Sergeant’s Ward,² but was subsequently “received back,” after being permitted to communicate with the Queen.

On the 18th December, Bills were read for Restitution in Blood of Lord Thomas Howard, younger son of the late Duke of Norfolk; and for confirming Letters Patents to “Walter Rawleigh Esquire,”—as to which last there were “many arguments.”³

Sir Christopher Hatton, Vice Chamberlain, expressed the Queen’s thanks for the “great and dutiful care of this House” in regard to the Preservation of her Majesty’s Royal Person. “Of her own most loving and merciful disposition,” she was willing that those who were “barred or disabled” (i.e. Catholic Recusants) should be allowed to be heard, as to “what they can say in excuse.” And she would remove the proviso by which any of them who had “taken the Oath of Association might in any way hereafter” be troubled “in conscience.”⁴

Sir Francis Drake and two others were given charge of a Bill on the preservation of Plymouth Haven. Then, 21st December, 1584, Parliament was adjourned until the 4th of February. On 5th February, 1584-5, Letters Patent from her Majesty to Queen’s College, Oxford were twice read. The statute for maintenance of Rochester Bridge was committed to Sir Philip Sidney. There was an old and new Bill for repairing the “Sea Banks and Sea-Walls upon the Sea Coasts” of Norfolk. Various private Bills “of no great moment” were

¹ Ib. p. 333: Sir Walter Mildmay, Sir John Higham, Sir Francis Drake, Mr. Recorder of London, Mr. James Dalton, Mr. George Moore, Mr. Brooke, Mr. Doctor Turner, Mr. Francis Hastings, Mr. Fox, Mr. Anderson, Sir Richard Greenfield [Grenville], Mr. William Mohun, Sir Drew Drewry, Sir Henry Neville, Sir William Moore, Sir Nicholas Woodhouse, Sir William Herbert, Mr. Robert Beale, Mr. Edward Popham, Mr. Strickland, Mr. Edward Lewkenor, Sir Robert Germin, Mr. Lieutenant of the Tower, Mr. George Carie, Sir Thomas Manners, Mr. Daniel, Mr. John Bretton, Mr. Grice, Mr. Richard Prowze, Mr. Thomas Brereton, Sir Richard Knightley, and Sir William Mallory. On a later occasion (p. 337) “Mr. Walter Rawleigh” is included; also “Mr. Francis Bacon,” and “Mr. Fulke Grevil,” and Sir Thomas Cecil.

² D’Ewes, *Journals*, p. 341.

³ His knighthood was the following year: “Sir Walter Rawley, dubbed at Greenwich on the Twelfth Day 1584” (5), Metcalfe’s *Book of Knights*, p. 135.

⁴ Ib. p. 341; and see p. 344.

debated. Shoemakers, curriers, and clothiers were appointed to meet in the Middle Temple Hall (17th February). There were Bills for game preserving, "increase of pheasants and partridges"; and for preservation of grain; for the repairing of highways; "the paving of the town of New Windsor"; and for the "true payment of Tithes," even then a vexed question.

The great sensation was the disclosure of the treason of Dr. Parry; who after being pardoned for "unreverend" behaviour in the House, was discovered to have been plotting "*for the advancement of the King of Spain's Conquest of England.*" He was arrested; and his Membership of Parliament was cancelled.

In the Exchequer Chamber, all such Privy Councillors as were of the House of Commons met the other members; and a Committee was formed to examine into the conspiracy of Parry, with "one Nevill" who had served in King Philip's wars and "had lately returned poor into England." These two had planned to "go into the North, there to raise Rebellion, or take the Island in Kent" (viz: Sheppey Island) "or to sell Barwick" (Berwick,) to Spain, "or lastly to Murther her Majesty." Dr. Allen's book, on the deposition and deaths of "Heretical Princes (as he styles them)," had been an influence upon their minds. Sir Christopher Hatton stated that Nevill and Parry had resolved to kill the Queen either in her garden at St. James', "or else to set upon her whilst she should be in her coach in the fields, each of them having for their assistance five or six men with pistols." But Nevill "touched with remorse of conscience," strove to dissuade Parry, and said that unless the assassination were abandoned he would reveal it.

Parry's plot was the more rebuked in that the Queen in 1580 had pardoned him for a capital offence, and had given him license to travel. He subsequently had dealings with the Papal Nuncio in Venice, and with Morgan, the Queen of Scots' agent in Paris. It was stated that "upon the encouragement of the Cardinal [of] Como and the Pope himself," he had "returned into England with a mind full of Treason and Disloyalty."

"A letter written by Parrie to Hir Majestie," admits his "discontented mind," and his plans "for the relieve of the afflicted catholiks" and the "restitution of England to the ancient obedience" to Rome. He repented his conspiracy, and besought her to treat the Queen of Scots honourably; declaring himself ready to make amends "by my death and patience."¹ He wrote to Burghley and Leicester, pleading for pardon.² His arraignment was on 25th February at Westminster.³

"My case is rare, singular, and unnaturall," said he; "conceived at Venice, presented in generall words to the Pope, undertaken at Paris, commended and allowed by his holiness; and was to have been executed in England . . . Yea, I

¹ Holinshed, IV, p. 570. ² Ib. p. 571. 18 Feb: 1584-5, "from the Tower."

³ Ib. pp. 574-579.

have committed many treasons, . . . and yet never intended to kill Queen Elizabeth. I appeale to her knowledge"¹

But Lord Hunsdon and Sir Christopher Hatton demonstrated the deadly nature of the plot, and Parry's consent to it; and his dealing with the Cardinal of Como.²

Hunsdon argued that Parry did not die for "poperie," but for "dangerous treason against hir majestie, and thy whole countrie . . . thy blood be upon thee: neither hir majestie nor we at onie time sought it"

Parry "ragingly said that he there summoned the Queen to answer for his blood before God": whereon the Lieutenant of the Tower was commanded to take him away. "And upon his departure, the people," in horror of "his intended enterprise . . . pursued him out with cries, Awaie with the traitor . . . whereupon he was conveied to the barge to passe to the Tower again by water."³

On the 2nd March (1584-5) he was delivered over to the Sheriffs of London and Middlesex; who from Tower Hill took him on a hurdle to Westminster, where a

¹ Ib. IV, p. 576.

² For whose previous letter to the Nuncio in Spain as to Elizabeth, see E.E. Vol. IV pp. 141-143.

³ The account of Parry given in the Continuation to Holinshed (IV. pp. 1581-2) is that he was son of "a poore man called Harrie ap David" in Flint, who kept an alehouse. After various adventures he came to London, and set up as a gentleman, changing his name to Parry; and marrying two rich widows in succession, was exceedingly "dissolute and wastfull." Guilty of burglary, he was condemned to death; but pardoned by the Queen: and therefore his subsequent entry into conspiracy against her was the more "disloyall, perjured and traitorous." In Holinshed's Continuation, 1584, An. Reg. 27, see "*A True and plaine declaration of the horrible treasons practised by William Parrie against the Queens Maiestie, and of his conviction and execution of the same, the second of March 1584*" (5). The *Chronicles*, Vol. IV, ed.: 1808, pp. 561-588, give many details of Parry's case; and quote popular verses (pp. 586-587), telling how after obtaining the Queen's pardon for his criminal offence, he undertook

"hir death
By whose favor
He did ever
Draw his breath.

It was pittie
One so wittie,
Malcontent:
Leaving reason
Should to treason
So be bent.

But his gifts
Were but shiffts
Void of grace.
And his braverie
Was but knaverie
Vile and base.

Wales did beare him,
France did swere him
To the pope:
Venice wróught him,
London brought him
To the rope."

Lord Burghley is the reputed author of a B.L. sm. 4to tract, "*The Execution of Justice in England for maintenance of Publique and Christian Peace against certain Stirrers of Sedition, &c. without any Persecution of them for Questions of Religion, as is falsely reported and published; with a Declaration of the favourable dealing of her Maiesties Commissioners for the Examination of certaine Traitors,*" (24 leaves, secondly imprinted at London, mense Jan. 1583. An. Reg. Eliz. 26.) (i.e. 1584); and the same in Latin, a small 8vo printed by Vautrollier, 1584. "*Justitia Britannica, perquam liquet perspicue aliquot in eo regno perditos cives, seditionis et Armorum Civilium authores regniq. hostium propagnatores acceremos, morte multuctos esse,*" &c.

This was answered anonymously by Dr. William Allen, in 1584 (no printer's name or place of issue,) "*Ad Persecutores Anglos pro Catholicis Domi forisque Persecutionem sufferentibus; contra falsum, seditionis & contumeliosum Libellum, inscriptum: 'Justitia Britannica': Scriptum primum in idiomate Anglicano & deinde translata in Latinum.*" (B.M. 39322. e.3.)

scaffold had been erected outside the Palace. He did not ask the people to pray for him; but reiterated in a long speech that he never meant to murder the Queen. His denials did not carry any conviction.

His "devilish and desperate purpose" was exposed in an official pamphlet.¹ The popular feeling is reflected in "*The English Myrror*," by George Whetstone, dedicated to the Queen, and to the "Nobility of this flourishing realm."² Commenting on "the dangerous treasons" of Francis Throckmorton, the reported suicide of the Earl of Northumberland, and the execution of Parry, he exclaims,

"God grant that her Majesties good subjects may be always worthy of this divine providence," (i.e. of the frustration of all schemes for her overthrow.)³

"... They strive against God" (says Whetstone) "that strive against their soveraigne Princes, especially against such a one as God hath anointed to set forth his glorie. . . .

"although Angels are not so visibly seene as in the time of the prophets, yet the[y] minister God's providence . . . even now . . . by whome our noble Queene Elizabeth is defended, her enemies are confounded, and from whom her good subjects receive peace, and large fruition both of spiritual and temporal riches."

Diametrically opposite views came from "Espaniolised" quarters, in which "Mrs. Elizabeth" was described as a "viper" and "a harpy" whom it would be meritorious to destroy. But Whetstone's prose embodies the same conviction as the street ballad already quoted; and the frustration of one plot after another enhanced the popular belief that the Queen was under divine protection; though her enemies expressed it otherwise,—that the Devil took care of his own.

On the 29th of March, 1585, Parliament was dissolved, the Queen making an oration as to man's mortal life being that of "wayfaring pilgrims" on earth.

"I know no creature that breatheth, whose life standeth hourly in more peril . . . than mine;" said she; thanking the Almighty for His protection, and commanding her Parliament for its free subsidy and abundant good will.⁴

¹ "At London by C.B., [Christopher Barker, the Crown printer,] *A True & Plaine Declaration of the horrible Treasons practised by William Parry the Traitor, against the Queenes Majestie. The maner of his Arraignment, Conviction and execution, together with the copies of sundry letters of his and others, tending to divers purposes, for the proofes of his Treasons. Also an addition . . . containing a short collection of his birth, education and course of life. Moreover, a fewe observations gathered of his owne wordes and wrytings, for the farther manifestation of his most disloyal, devilish and desperate purpose.*" 1584-5. (B.L. Sm: 4to.) See "The Warrender Papers" (1931), pp. 170-171 for "Ane letter sent from the Cardenoll de Como to Dr. Parrie" &c. The editors quote Father J. H. Pollen, "*Queen Mary and the Babington Plot, XXVIII.*" as authority for Parry being "a discredited courtier," and do not appear to have noticed Holinshed's description of his antecedents as much the opposite of courtly.

² Title page, E.E., Vol. VI.

³ Lib: 2, "*Envie conquered by Virtue*," (1586), pp. 152, 171, 172, 173.

⁴ Holinshed, Continuation. Ed: 1808, Vol. IV, p. 580.

PEERS IN QUEEN ELIZABETH'S FIFTH PARLIAMENT

*From Monday, 23rd November, 1584 (27th Eliz.) to 29th March, 1585, when it was prorogued;
after which it was dissolved on Wednesday, 14th September, 1586 (28th Elizabeth).*

The House of Lords was a compact assemblage, consisting of 10 Peers Spiritual, and 49 Temporal; and the Lord Chancellor who was not a peer. The peers in 1584 were 2 Archbishops, 8 Bishops; 1 Marquess; 18 Earls; 2 Viscounts; 28 Barons.¹

From the Journal-Book of 26th November, 1584, the Upper House is given as follows: (D'Ewes, *Journals of all the Parliaments* etc. p. 312):

Regina

Archiepiscopus Cantuar. Dominus Thomas Bromley, Milcs, Cancellarius.

Archiepiscopus Eboracum. Dominus Burghleigh Dominus Thesaurarius Angliae.

Marchio Winton [i.e. Marquess of Winchester]

[13 Earls] Comes Oxon (Magnus Camerarius)

28 Barons [including Burghley, Lord Treasurer.]

Arundel

Barones

Kantiac [Kent]

Dominus Howard (Camerar)

Darbiac

Zouch

Wigorn

Willoughbie

Rutland

Dacres

Cumberland

Cobham

Sussex

Grey de Wilton

Bathon

Lumley

Pembroke

Stourton

Hartford

Mountjoy

[Leicester, Lord Steward; & Warwick, Master General of the Ordnance

Darcie

absent. Not on list 26th November.]

Mountagle

[No Essex present as he was only 18

Windsor

years old.]

Wentworth

[2 Viscounts] [Hereford, a minor, not sitting]

Borough

Vice-Comes Montague

Cromwell

Bindon

Evers

[8 Bishops] Episcopi London

Wharton

Winton

Rich

Meneven

Willoughby de Parham

Sarisburien

Darcy de Chiche

Petriburgen

North

Norwicen

Shandois [Chandos]

Roffen

St. John de Bletsoe

Cestren

Buckhurst

De la Ware

Chyne

Norris

¹The premier Viscount, Hereford, who was also Earl of Essex, was still too young to be summoned; and the Earls of Shrewsbury and Huntingdon were absent on this occasion; Shrewsbury being custodian of the Queen of Scots, and Huntingdon Lord President of York. The Earls of Worcester, Lincoln, and Bedford presumably were also absent. The Surrey Earldom was held by Arundel. The Earl of Northumberland was in prison on suspicion of treason; and Westmorland had fled abroad in 1570.

APPENDIX A.

ORDERS TO THE MARQUIS OF SANTA CRUZ, CAPTAIN-GENERAL OF THE OCEAN SEA: 23 of June, 1584.

Now first translated from the original MS., in possession of the Duke of Berwick and Alba.¹

Though too complicated for the average reader, these Instructions of King Philip to his great Admiral, the year after his victory at Terceira, must be of profound interest to students and teachers of sixteenth century naval history.

In reading the Orders, let us understand that they were part of a preparation for the intended conquest of England, at precisely the time when modern English historians assume there was no danger.²

"The order in which it is my will that you, D. Alvaro de Bazán Marqués de Santa Cruz my cousin, whom I have made my Captain-General of the Ocean-Sea, keep now and until I prescribe and command otherwise, in the use and exercise of the said charge, is the following:

i. Firstly, the said charge being of such quality and importance, . . . more than in any other whatsoever, it is suitable to proceed with much care and vigilance. And because of my satisfaction with yourself, and with him whom you employ in matters of my service, I have elected and nominated you my Captain-General of the Ocean-Sea; and have given you power so complete and sufficient, as you will see by the patent which has been delivered to you, signed by my hand and sealed with my seal;⁴ and besides, the Captains-General and private (persons) of the said fleets which are to be under your command will be enjoined to obey, acknowledge and respect you as my Captain-General of the Ocean-Sea, and carry out your decrees, orders and commands that you give in writing or by word of mouth, as if I myself ordered and commanded them.

¹ Listed No: 202, p. 192, of *Catálogo* of the Liria MSS (1898). Docketed "*Instrucción al Marqués de Santa Cruz Capitán general del mar Oceano para el ejercicio del dicho cargo con doce mill escudos de a diez reales de sueldo cada un año pagados con la gente de guerra en Portugal.*" So far as the present Duke of Alba and his cousin the Marquis of Santa Cruz are aware, this document has not been published even in Spain.

² The idea of Corbett that King Philip was incompetent, and that the Spanish Navy was ill-regulated, arose from imperfect acquaintance with the facts. But from 1898 onwards, Corbett has been the authority whose opinions prevailed in English teaching of history. Who that knew him need doubt that were he living, he would revise his own works in the light of the materials now first published? Any historian may make a mistake, or fail in realisation where to seek some of the most helpful MSS; especially when (as in Corbett's case,) starting with the assumption that Spain was declining in vigour and valour at the very time when Spain (after the conquest of Portugal) expected to dominate the world. The ensuing Instructions were given by King Philip in the year to which Corbett assigned an absence of danger. To measure what was necessary for England, we need to know what was being done in Spain. Obvious as this now appears, it is an innovation in modern English History.

³ In the original there is little punctuation; but now, for ease in reading, the longest sentences have been punctuated.

⁴ cit. ante. pp. 186-187.

2. You are to take great trouble and special care that all the people in the said fleets and armed ships which are to be and are under your care and governance are thoroughly disciplined and and prudent in speech and live rightly and christianly, so that Our Lord be served and not offended. And especially you are to take great care that if anyone departs from what Our Holy Mother the Church holds, or should fall into unnatural crime, he be gravely and severely chastized. And that they in no manner swear nor blaspheme, which is a thing by which God Our Lord is so greatly offended. And although I have thus charged and commanded all Captains-General and privates of the said fleets and armed ships, likewise you are to have a firm hand and care in this, as a thing so important to the service of God our Lord, and to mine, and when you are absent you will command it in letters.¹

3. Likewise have particular care that all the people of the said fleets and armed ships live quietly and peacefully, without there being amongst them noise, nor scuffles, factions and favouritism; and that they obey and respect their Captains, Corporals, and superiors; and carry out the orders given them, as well afloat as in fighting; and entering or leaving ports; (you) punishing in exemplary manner, and with severity and display suitable towards those who do not do what they should; and it is for you to dispense justice, general and particular, and especially in civil as in criminal cases, so that the different parties get justice, and none receives injury, and all are well taught and improved.

4. You are to have such particular care and vigilance to decree and give orders so that the ships of the fleets built and assembled for the guard and defence of the coast, ports, shores and islands of the said Ocean-Sea be of the capacity, quality and strength required for obtaining the results and carry out services ordered and entrusted to them. And that they be also provided with tackle (*enxarcados*) and with seamen and soldiers who can attack and fight if necessary, without suffering damage from those carried by the pirates and corsairs; and to injure them as much as possible in such manner that the merchant ships and those freighted and hired by my subjects and natives in my Kingdoms and lordships be not hurt and dammified; and that they be able to navigate, and make contracts from one part to the other and to the said Indies by the said Ocean-Sea and its ports, freely and safely in winter and in summer without hindrance and disturbance by the said corsairs.

5. To the Captains-General of the fleets and merchant-fleets, and of big ships, have been given and will be given the instructions which seem and are necessary, in order that they know and understand the manner of going and of governing the said fleets. And you are to have great care to order and decree that they keep them and carry them out; and that the same be done by my accountants and paymasters, by those (orders) given to them for the exercise of their offices, and that each of them fulfils and does what concerns him without fail; and that the reviews and muster-rolls of the seamen and soldiers serving in the said fleets and armed ships be made with every caution and exact collection; so that by this the losses my estate has suffered and may suffer shall be made good.

6. You are to order that great consideration be given to the good treatment and conservation of the seamen and soldiers who may be embarked and shall be in the said fleets, for, as you know, this is so fitting and necessary, in order that (on occasion arising) there be those who wish to sail and undertake it, and because what chiefly and usually causes their willingness is to see that they are given fully what is due to them, and that their salaries are paid: you are to order and procure on your part that it is done as I trust in you.

7. When I shall order (you) to assemble and form a fleet in which you are to sail and serve in person, you are to issue warrants of salaries to all seamen and soldiers who embark in the ships, zabras, pinnaces, tenders, caravels and other vessels who serve in it, and take an account of the provision of victuals, rigging, arms and munitions, and other material required for the service and

¹ In Q. Elizabeth's Navy and Army also, swearing and blasphemy were forbidden.

the sustenance of the said fleet and seamen and soldiers; made by means and intervention of the officers which I shall nominate; and see that the supplies and victuals and all the other things bought and provided for the sustenance and service of the said fleets be of the perfection and good quality required, and are what you see to be necessary for the conservation and health of the people and the carrying out of the results aimed at through them: And having for the service of such fleet to capture and seize ships, give strict warning that the seizing be solely of ships suitable and necessary for the results expected of the fleet, and that the persons engaged in this neither molest nor insult anyone, make no agreements nor receive anything directly or indirectly, nor in any other way, from the owners of such ships, for setting them free. And if anyone is proved guilty in this, arrange for his public chastisement.

8. As you know, in the size and tonnage of the ships in my pay and service for the occasions which present themselves, there have several times been errors in the accounts, of much hurt to my estate. And as, for this reason, so much is wasted and spent in the fleets of big ships which are assembled, it is necessary to see to the remedy of it; and so I charge you particularly that with special care and attention you order and procure that the tonnage and measures of such things are done well and exactly by measure and *cobdo* marked and known, and by expert persons who have experience of the art of mensuration of ships, and are conscientious men of good report and of whom there cannot be nor is any distrust; for you see how important this is, as well in order that these losses cease, which have grown to such an extent; for this reason and also in order that the parties get and have what is rightly theirs, and no more.

9. You are to take great care that the Captains, masters, boatswains, pilots, and sailors, who will have to serve in the ships, and are also engaged on pay to sail in the said fleets, reside in and always are on board, and are not absent without your express licence, or that of the Captain-General of such fleet. And that when such licence is conceded, that it be after much consideration, whether it is for a just cause; and that it be for a limited period; and that such licence is confirmed by the accountant and the inspector of the said fleet. And if anyone is absent without it, he does not earn his pay, nor should be paid.

10. You will have to make a muster-roll and review of the people who are to serve in the ships of the fleets formed and newly assembled, every time it seems suitable to you; communicating them to my inspectors and accountants of the fleet; and you will order that in the said muster-roll there be no mention of soldier or sailor who is absent unless it were with your licence for a short time, and for a good reason as above said.

11. In the instructions and orders given to the Captains-General of particular fleets, the form is explained in which the captures made are to be distributed, and the portions to be given to each one of them. And you will give orders that they be kept and fulfilled as is contained and explained in them, and when the fleets are ordered to assemble and form a fleet of ships in which you have to sail as my Captain-General of the Ocean-Sea, in order to search for corsairs; and for some other purpose or enterprise in my Service (as) I shall order to be explained; and you will be advised of the form to be followed in the distribution of the captures made by them or had by them from the enemies; and the share you as my Captain-General will have and get from the captures.

12. When for some purpose of my service it becomes necessary to take, seize or detain any ships in the ports and on the coasts of my Kingdoms and lordships, strangers there, and natives of countries of friends and allies of ours, take very particular care that the captains, masters, and coxswains of the said ships, and the people working in them, are very well treated and that they are given full rations and are not detained longer than is necessary for serving and that they be paid their wages promptly and in such manner that no one can complain nor be aggrieved, nor come upon me for it.

13. The title I have ordered to be given to you of Captain-General of the Ocean-Sea and of

all the fleets and great ships which sail on it, and will sail, is very complete and without limitations, as it should be; for there is no impediment nor difficulty. But it is my will, and I declare, that you have not to intervene in what concerns ships freighted by any person for the transport of merchandise from one part to another; but have to, and should, leave them free on the sea, and in the ports, to pursue their voyages and do what they wish without constraining them, nor commanding in anything, nor exercising any judicial authority whatever over them; nor have you to exercise authority over the other ships and fleets built in Portugal for the Oriental Indies and the Islands of that Crown for the account of that Kingdom: Nor in those of the merchant fleets built in Andalusia for the West Indies and the Islands and continent of the Ocean-Sea; nor impede their carrying or bringing in them for their security a few more soldiers and arms than they generally carry, or bring to others some for defence; For in what concerns the expedition of the merchant fleets and the fleets of the said Indies I wish that they remain in the usual custom and form of trade without in this altering in any way, by reason of your said charge, the jurisdiction and authority of him whose authority is only over the fleets and armed ships which issue from the ports and navigate as fleets in the Ocean-Sea in order to search for the corsairs, and for the other expeditions and enterprises I shall order; and with this limitation and explanation you will have to you, and practise, the said office of Captain-General of all the said Ocean-Sea according to the power and title you hold from me, and in no other manner.

14. As you know, by proclamations and laws of my kingdoms and other ordinances and permits, there stand explained and ordered the Artillery, arms, and men with whom each ship has to navigate and serve as a fleet as well as a merchant fleet, according to its tonnage and size, so as to proceed with sufficient defence and security; and I charged my justices of these my kingdoms that before the ships leave the ports in which they happen to be, they have them searched and examined, so that they carry all they should carry, and they receive no hurt through lack of them. And likewise is explained the order to be observed in taking advantage of the superiority of some over others, in the freights and voyages which offer; and that no merchandise in foreign ships be taken or carried out of the ports and coasts of kingdoms of the Crown of Castile, because on such occasions goods are interchanged and there are more of the native ones and of these, take particular care; if there should be, in the carrying out of this, some carelessness or negligence which it seems to you should be provided against and remedied, advise me of it and of what occurs to you, so that I order it to be done and carried out, as is best for my service.

15. Over the people of the said fleet and ships I give you command and jurisdiction, entirely and fully, so that you have and hold it in cases of crimes committed at sea; and likewise I give it to you over whatsoever other inhabitants of the land for crimes committed by them on board of the said fleets of whatever kind against those sailing in them. But if some of the said fleet commit crimes on land, in any of my kingdoms and estates, the knowledge of it must be brought to the Viceroy or Governor or Captain-General of such kingdom and estate of mine, if the said crimes were committed against the inhabitants of the land: explaining in one case and in the other that if the crime which the inhabitant of the land commits is committed in the fleet, against a landsman, although he has been arrested at sea by the justice of the fleet, it must be afterwards remitted and put into the hands of the land-justice; and likewise if the crime a man of the fleet commits on land against another man of the fleet, although he has been taken by the land-justice, the case must be remitted and put into the hands also of the sea-justice. But in cases of extraction of prohibited and forbidden things which are taken out of the sea on the shore against the laws and orders in usage in the said kingdoms, I wish, and it is my will, because of the importance of avoiding this difficulty, that if one from the fleet, who has committed this crime afloat were afterwards arrested on land, knows such a case, and is arrested by the land-justice, I charge you most (earnestly) that this crime of extraction you punish severely; and that in everything you provide and give orders that the people of the said fleets behave with good discipline and that between them and the inhabitants of the land, where the said fleets use the harbours, there be good relations; and that differences and rivalries between them be overlooked, and that all obey this my order, which I in the same way

give to my Viceroy and Captains-General of my Kingdoms and Estates, wherever they bring the said fleets, in order that they have and keep the same good relations with you.

16. And respecting the expense which will fall upon you in the execution of the said charge of Captain-General of the Ocean-Sea, and in that of my Captain-General over the soldiers, which serve me at present and will serve me later in my kingdoms of Portugal, for which I have likewise provided a title by another warrant: For this I wish, and it is my will, that you have and hold the yearly salary of 12,000 escudos of ten Castilian reales each, each escudo which you will begin to enjoy from the day of the date of this my instruction, all the time you serve and have the said charges; and that you be paid the money I shall order to be provided for the pay of the soldiers who are and will be in my pay in the said kingdom of Portugal, ceasing as it has to cease with the above said other pay, whatever other salary you hold now or later, so that with the one and the other you are not to draw nor do draw more salary than the said 12,000 escudos at ten reales each.

The contents of this my Instruction I wish and order that you keep and carry out, in the use and exercise of the said charge of Captain-General of the Ocean-Sea, all the time that you serve in it; and it is my will according as is said, and meanwhile that nothing is taken away or added in all or in any part of it. That will be when it should suit my service; and you in the same way make them to be kept and carried out by the Captains-General of the various fleets and armed ships navigating in the said Ocean-Sea; whom you have to advise and warn of anything more which occurs to you and seems suitable, taking great care, and seeing that there is no excess in anything; for such is my will; and that this, my instruction be entered in the books of payments in the keeping of my Inspector-General and accountant of the soldiers in Portugal, for the account they have to keep of the warrants and pay of the said your salary.

Dated in *San Lorenzo el Real* on the 23rd day of the month of June one thousand five hundred and eighty four years.

I THE KING.¹

¹ "Yo el Rey." Also signed, "By order of His Majesty. Juan Delgado.

Entered in the Office of the Inspector-General. D. Pedro de Guzman.

Entered in the books of the Auditor's Office. Bernabe de Pedroso."

Notice especially clauses 6, 7, 12. The emphasis upon "good treatment" and prompt payment for the seamen (6); the "good quality" of the victuals (7); the prompt payment of wages (12); and (11) that the search for corsairs is preparatory to another "enterprise" to be explained later.

Taken in conjunction with the materials published in vol. IV of "*Elizabethan England*," 1934, these Instructions (hitherto unknown to English naval critics), should terminate for ever the customary illusion that the Elizabethan seamen were contending only against a power "crumbling to decay": instead of defying a nation world-renowned for strength, efficiency, and notable victories by sea and land. This M.S., and the Commission of the same date (catalogued 1898, see p. 199, ante, n.r.) were lent by the Duke of Alba to the great International Exhibition at Barcelona in 1929; and there transcribed for the present history. Their full importance for the study of Spanish discipline may henceforth be recognised in perpetuity by all students of Sea-Power (which most vital element in the rise and fall of nations was not included in subjects discussed at the Anglo-American Historical Conference in London in July, 1936.)

MEMENTOS OF SPAIN'S CAPTAIN-GENERAL OF THE OCEAN SEA.

Notes by the present Marquis of Santa Cruz.

When in 1584 the "never-vanquished" Marqués de Santa Cruz was appointed Captain-General of the Ocean Sea, he was the most renowned Admiral then living. England's Lord High Admiral, the Earl of Lincoln, a seaman as well as a courtier of great experience, was old and near his death; and though Sir Francis Drake was already of wide renown for his daring raids and adventurous circumnavigation of the Globe, he had not then to his credit any equivalent to such victories as Santa Cruz had won at St. Michael's and Terceira.¹

Among spoils of war possessed by Santa Cruz were the lanterns which had adorned the poops of the conquered flagships. Concerning these, now illustrating "*Elizabethan England*," the present Marqués de Santa Cruz has kindly supplied memoranda, which may be Englished thus:

"The six lanterns, the hereditary property of the Marquises of Santa Cruz were kept in their Palacio del Viso in Ciudad Real, until 1883: when the then Marqués (Don Francisco de Borja, Great Chamberlain of the Royal Household) took them to Madrid: placing five of them on deposit in the *Real Armeria*, and taking the sixth to his Palacio at 14 Calle San Bernardino. He set great store by this lantern, as it was from the ship in which Don Alvaro de Bazán, first Marqués, hoisted his flag in the battle of Lepanto, 7 October, 1571.

It is the richest and most decorative of them all; made of pear-wood, gilt; the upper part where the smoke escapes, as well as the figure of Fame on the top of it, is of bronze, fire-gilt. Inside there are two short cylindrical tubes in which the tapers or torches were placed. By its graceful form, its sound proportions and delicate relief carving (*primorosa talla*) we see it as a work of art in which the inventive genius of the craftsmen aimed at perfection (*se esmeraba*)

The present Marqués de Santa Cruz (Don Mariano), wishing to enjoy the sight of these lanterns, took four of them, on the 4th of November, 1916, away from the Royal Armoury where his grandfather (Don Francisco) had placed them; leaving the remaining one there. The label on that one states, '*With glory and honour this lantern was taken by the first Marqués de Santa Cruz (Don Alvaro de Bazán) in the galley which he captured from Mohamed Bey son of Hassan Pasha, King of Algeria and grandson of Barbarossa; in battle of the Island off Sapienza on the 7th of October 1572, exactly a year after the memorable battle of Lepanto.*'

The other four lanterns are now on the staircase of the palace, (14 Calle de San Bernardino); two on the first landing below and two on the upper landing.

Those below are spoils from the battle of the Islands, where French and Portuguese ships commanded by Philip Strozzi were defeated by the Spanish fleet under Santa Cruz The labels are as follows:

'Lantern of the Admiral of the French fleet under Philipp Strozzi, captured in the fight off the Island of San Miguel (Azores) by Don Alvaro de Bazán, first Marqués de Santa Cruz in 1582.

'Lantern of the Admiral's ship of the Portuguese fleet, captured in the fight off the Island of San Miguel (Azores) by Don Alvaro de Bazán, first Marquis de Santa Cruz, in 1582.'

The two other lights which are on the upper landing of this palace have each a label, thus: 'Lantern from the ship of the Turkish Commander in Chief, Hassan Shereef (Chirivi); captured at the battle of Lepanto by Don Alvaro de Bazán, first Marqués de Santa Cruz, 7th of October, 1571.'

Of the five lights in the Palace of the Calle de San Bernardino, two, as explained, were taken from the Turks at Lepanto, two from the French and Portuguese off the Azores, and the remaining one belonged to Don Alvaro de Bazán, 1st Marqués He carried it on the poop of his ship

¹ Described, E.E. vol. IV, pp. 165-215; and 291-304. Omitted from present English Time Tables of European Dates, and from the new English "*History of Spain*" by Sir Charles Petrie, Bart., and Louis Bertrand, London, 1934.

'*La Loba*' (*The She-Wolf*), in which he fought at Lepanto.¹ In the first part of *Don Quixote*, Chapter xxxix, Cervantes wrote, '*At Lepanto they took among others the Turkish galley called La Presa commanded by a son of Barbarossa.*' It was captured by *La Loba*, 'commanded by that flashing light of war, the father of his men, that adventurous and never vanquished leader, Don Alvaro de Basán, first Marqués of Santa Cruz.'

Of historic mementos in the house there are also the sword worn by that illustrious Admiral, . . . and the six keys which the City of Tunis surrendered to him . . .³

Lope de Vega retrospectively put into his mouth the challenging verses which are cut on the pedestal of the statue of Santa Cruz now in the Plaza de la Villa, Madrid:

"El fiero turco en Lepanto,
en la Tercera el frances,
y en todo el mar el ingles
tuvieron de verme espano.

Rey servido do Patria honrada
dirán mejor quien he sido,
por la Cruz de mi apellido,
y por la Cruz di mi espada."⁴

¹ Battle described, E.E. vol. II, pp. 85-97. The present Marqués possesses a contemporary picture of this fight, showing the final stage of the conflict after the crescent formation of the Turkish fleet had been broken by the successful gunnery of the Christian Allies.

² Cervantes himself having fought at Lepanto, his words are no mere empty compliment.

³ Appropriately when in 1585 an impressive work was issued on the achievements of King Philip's father, it was dedicated "al Excelentissimo Señor Don Aluero de Baçan Marques de Sancta Cruz, Commandador mayor de Leon, del Consejo de su Magestad, y su Capitan general del Mar Oceano y Reinos de Portugal [Coat of Arms] Recopilada en dos partes por Iuan Ochoa de la Salde Prior perpetuo de Sant Iuan de Letran. Impresa con Licencia del Consejo general de la Sancta Inquisicion, Año de M.D.LXXXV. Con privilegio Real." Approved 12 Dec. 1582; licensed 8 Feb. 1583-4, and again 14 Jan. 1586. First printed 20 Dec. 1585 as "Primera Parte de la Carolea Inchiridion, que trata dela Vida y Hechos del Inuiicitissimo Emperador Don Carlos Quinto de este Nombre, y de muchos notables cosas en ella sucedidas hasta el Año de 1555." See Vol. III of H.M. King Manuel's "Livros Antigos Portuguezes" (1935), pp. 210-213.

⁴ "At Lepanto the fierce Turk,
At Tercera the Frenchman,
In all the seas the Englishman
Was in terror at the sight of me.
The King served, my country honoured
By the Cross of my name
And by the Cross of my sword,
They will best tell who I was."

The French experience of him had been terrible in 1582 (See Simancas MS. 431; first published, E.E. Vol. IV, (1934) pp. 196-198). His intention was to discourage all future French aid to Portugal and the Azores. The Turks also had cause to remember him to their disadvantage. But Englishmen continued to hazard themselves across the Ocean Sea; and their recognition of Santa Cruz as a formidable foe took the form of preparation for future emergencies.

In maritime affairs, England took care to learn from Spain. The same year that Lord Burghley apprehended King Philip would soon "get the Crowne of Portingale," there was republished in London '*The Arte of Navigation, contaynyng a Compendious description of the sphere with the making of certayne Instruments & Rules for Navigations, & exemplified by many Demonstrations, englisched out of Spanys [of Martin Cortes] by Richard Eden now newly corrected & amended.*' Printed by the widow of R. Jugge, 1579, 2nd ed: Woodcut diagrams. (Cat. of Lib. of John Scott, 1905, p. 276, item 2775.) And the previous year, "*A Booke of the Invention of the Art of Navigation, & of the great travellles which they passe that saile in gallies,*" had been translated by Edward Hellowes, sm. 4to, B.L. R. Newberry, 1578.

In 1582 Englishmen were taking service under the French flag purposely to get some practise in fighting the Spaniards; though at that time King Philip still had an Ambassador in London.

In 1583 Queen Elizabeth kept soldiers in Terceira, until July when Santa Cruz conquered that island and terminated the resistance of the Azores. (See E.E. Vol. IV, pp. 1-38).

APPENDIX B.

“THE INSTRUMENT OF AN ASSOCIATION
FOR THE PRESERVATION OF HER MA(JES)TIES ROYALL PERSONE,”
OCTOBER, 1584.

The meaning of this solemn vow, in effect a renewed Oath of Allegiance, having been blurred by the Dictionary of National Biography, article on *Queen Elizabeth*, by Augustus Jessop, where it is called a “*plébiscite*” or “*vote of confidence in the Sovereign*,” it is essential for teachers of history henceforth to study the wording.¹

As the deeds which ensued at sea were in fulfilment of the vow therein embodied, the omission of any reference to it in modern biographies of Sir Francis Drake has been an extraordinary oversight. We will now take the “Instrument” from the actual MS. which was signed by Drake and by a group of other West Country gentlemen, including Sir John Gilbert and Adrian Gilbert.²

“Forasmuche as almighty god hath ordayned Kinges Quences and Princes to haue dominion and rule over all ther Subiects and to preserve them in the profession of the trewe Christian religion accoordinge to his holly worde and Commandement^s, And in lyke sorte that all subiects shoule love feare and obey their soveraigne Princes, beinge kinges or Quenes, and to the vttermost of their power . . . to w^thstande . . . all manner of persons, that shall by any meanes intende and attempte any thing daungerous . . . to the honor^s, estates or persons of their sovereigns, Therefore we whose names are or shalbe subscribed . . . beinge naturall borne subiectes of this Rcalme . . . and having so gracious a Lady or soveraigne Elizabeth, . . . Re却ing over us thes many yeares w^th greate felicite to or inestimable comfort And fyndyng of late by divers deposicions . . . and . . . advertisem^ts out of forreine partes from credible persons well knowne to her Ma^{ties} Counsell, and to divers others that for the . . . advauncem^t of some pretended tides to the Crownē of this Rcalme it hath byn manifest that the lyfe of or^r gracious soveraigne . . . hath byn most traiterouslie . . . soughe . . . to the perill of her persone (if almighty God . . . had not revealed and w^thstoode the same) by whose lyfe we . . . doe enjoye . . . Peace in this lande Doe . . . not onlie acknowledge or^rselves most iustlie bounde w^th or^r bodies, lives, landes, and goodes in her defence and for her savetie to w^thstande, pursue, and suppresse all such mischevious persons and all other her enemyes of what Nation Condicion or degree soever they shalbe or by what coullor or title they shall pretende to be her enemyes or to attempte any harme unto her persone, But we do also thincke it or^r most bounden duties for the greate benefites of Peace, welth and godlie governem^t wh^t we haue more plentifullie received . . . under her ma^{ties} governem^t then our forefathers haue done in anie longer tyme of any other . . . kinges of this Realme, to declare . . . our loyall and duties to or^r . . . soveraigne Ladie for her safetie (And we . . . calling to witnes the holy name . . . of God do voluntarilie . . . bynde or^rselves every one of vs to the other ioyntyle and severallie in the bond of one firme and loyall societe, and do . . . vowe . . . before . . . almighty God that w^th or^r whole powers, bodies, lyves, landes, and goods, and w^th or^r Children and seruaunts we . . . will faithfullie serue and humbly obey our said soveraigne Ladie . . . against all estates dignitie and earthie powers whatsoeuer, and will aswell with our ioynt and particular forces during or^r lyves w^thstande offend and pursue, aswell by force of armes as by all other means of revenge almaner of personnes of what estate soever . . . and there abettors that shall attempt . . . or consent to any thing that

¹ From S.P.D. Eliz: CLXXIV. 6.

Though misconceived in D.N.B., this Bond of Association (in modern spelling) is given by Mr. A. Francis Steuart in his “*Trial of Mary Queen of Scots*,” London and Edinburgh, 1923, pp. 15-16; and he also prints in extenso pp. 17-18, the “Act for the Security of the Queen’s Royal Person, and the continuance of the realm in peace,” 27th Eliz: 1585, based upon the Bond. Mr. Steuart recognises how vitally this Bond bore upon the fate of the Queen of Scots (See E.E. Vol. VI.)

² Transcript lent by Commander Walter Raleigh Gilbert of Compton, present representative of Sir Humphrey Gilbert.

shall tende to the harme of her Ma^{ties} Royall person And we shall never desist . . . to the vtermost extermynacion of them ther counsellors and abbettors.

And if any suche wicked attempte . . . shalbe taken in hande . . . whereby anie that haue or shall pretende title to come to this Croune by the vntimlie death of her Ma^{tie} . . . (wth God , . . . forbiide) maye be aduaunce^d, We . . . not onlie vowe . . . never to . . . accepte or fauor any such pretended Successors . . . or anye that maye anye awye clayme by . . . (them) . . . as unworthie of all governm^t in anie Christian Realme . . . But do also . . . vowe . . . in the presence of . . . God to prosecute such person or persons to the death, wth or ioyntc or particuler forces, and to take the vtermost revenge of them that by any possible meane^s we . . . can devise . . . or cause to be . . . done, for their vter overthrow and extirpation.

And . . . we Confirme the Contents hearof by our oathe Corporallie taken vpon the holie evangelists with this expresse Condicion, that no one of vs shall for any respecte of persons or causes or for fear or rewarde seperate ourselves from this assosiacion, or faile in the prosecution hereof duringe our lives, vpon paine to be by the rest of vs prosecuted and suppressed as purifred persons and as publique enymies to God our Quene and our natyve Countrie To wth punishment and paynes we do voluntarilie submitte ourselues . . . wthout benefit of anie exception . . . by any Coullor or pretexte In witnes of all wth premisses to be Inviolablie kepte we do to this writing putt our hands and seal . . .¹

The history of Elizabethan England from October 1584 onwards is the story of how this oath—which was broken by a few but kept with the utmost vigour by many—was to be worked out by actions which protected the Queen through all the vicissitudes that beset her, during a war against Philip II, the chief autocrat of the Old World and of the New.

¹ Dated (blank). Then follow the signatures and seals, reading from left to right along the top line, they are: Edward Seymour, John Gilberte (squirrel seal), Arthur Bassett, and eight others including Ry. Champernoon; 2nd line, W. Courteney and eight others including Adryan Gilbarte (seal wanting); 3rd line includes Fra: Drake.

(This particular writing is undated. The one signed by the Privy Council at Hampton Court is dated 19 Oct. 1584).

PART III.

“*Ambitious, Politic, and Valiant.*”

CHAPTER I.

“IF YOUR MAJESTY HAD ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND.”

SECTION 8.

“*Bitter speeches of misery.*”

(*The Predicament of Mary Queen of Scots, 1584*).

“. . . the more my enemies search, . . . the more will they discover and find me totally innocent. . . .”

“From ye Sc[ots] Qu[een] to Monsieur Mauvissiree” (*Mauvissière de Castelnau, the French Ambassador*), 1583-4.

(Cal: S.P. Scotland, Mary Qu: of Scots, Vol. VII, 1913, p. 5).

[She made] “bitter speeches of misery, . . . her health impaired, her honour defamed” though “she is an absolute Queen as well as my mistress.”

William Wade reporting his conversations with the Queen of Scots, 25 April, 1584.
(Ib. No. 72).

“If she perish, which is now most likely, it cannot but be very scandalous and infamous to his Catholic Majesty. . . .”

Memo sent to the Pope and the King of Spain, from one of Queen Mary’s adherents; 29th December, 1584. (Cal: VII, No. 475).

NOTE.

The interrogations, trials, correspondence, etc., of Catholics executed under Queen Elizabeth's Statute Laws are made available by the Catholic Record Society, in "*Unpublished Documents relating to the English Martyrs. Vol. I. 1584-1603. Collected and edited by John Hungerford Pollen, S.J., London. Privately Printed for the Society by J. Whitehead & Son. Leeds. 1908.*" This, as the editor explains, "was begun by the late Father Morris, S.J., who had been entrusted by the successive Cardinal Archbishops of Westminster with the office of 'postulator' for the Beatification of the English Martyrs." Father Pollen succeeded him in that office. (See pp. 1-7, descriptive Notes on the "Catalogues" from 1585 to 1741; and Table of names, pp. 8-17.) Referring (p. 102) to the "disgraceful crime" of the assassination of William Prince of Orange, the late Father Pollen added that it reacted disastrously upon the English Catholics because "*the English politicians raised the cry that Elizabeth was in danger of a fate like that of the Prince, though in truth her life was never for a minute in peril.*" These last dozen words embody a misunderstanding. Even the Duke of Alba had written confidentially of his hopes for her death, by natural means "or otherwise" (Simancas MS. Estado 823: E.E., Vol. II, p. 131), and the Cardinal of Como's similar hopes and expectations were in no way equivocal. (See E.E., Vol. IV, pp. 141-143, quoting Pastor's "*History of the Popes*"). We shall see in due course Don Bernardino de Mendoza's information as to the conspiracy against Elizabeth's life. But Father Pollen (p. 106) believed there was not any League of Catholic Princes against her, and so he deplored that the Protestants in 1584 felt "boundless dislike and distrust of the Catholics." The "cry of danger" from Elizabeth's Ministers he regarded as only a hollow excuse for persecution. But the correspondence of the Duke of Guise with Spain, and of King Philip with his own Ambassadors (first published in our day,) shows that Elizabeth's Council had ample reason to apprehend a foreign invasion. The mutual "dislike and distrust" between the supporters of Elizabeth and the champions of the Pope was inevitable in the peculiar circumstances. In our modern English historical works, whether Catholic or Protestant, (or agnostic,) the forgetting of the Spanish victories of 1580-83, and of King Philip's further martial intentions, prevents a clear understanding of the political position. Religion and politics were so closely intertwined, and the English Catholic cause was then so notoriously identified with Spain, that whether for the Catholic student or the Protestant, it is equally necessary to realise the vast increase of power to King Philip consequent upon the compulsory uniting of the Portuguese Empire to the Crown of Castile, by the battle of Alcántara,—the culminative triumph of the veteran Duke of Alba (25th August, 1580. See E.E., Vol. IV, pp. 1-38, and plates 2, 3, 4, 5.)

PART III.

“Ambitious, Politic, and Valiant.”

CHAPTER I.

“IF YOUR MAJESTY HAD ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND.”

SECTION 8.

“Bitter speeches of misery.”

(*The Predicament of Mary Queen of Scots, 1584*).¹

DURING the summer after Mendoza had been expelled by Queen Elizabeth, and the Duke of Guise’s project for invasion of England had been foiled, the appointment of the Marquis of Santa Cruz to supreme command of the Spanish Navy might reasonably have raised the hopes of the Queen of Scots. Previously on Valentine’s Day 1584, Charles Paget had written in cipher to her that he found no fault with the Duke of Guise, “a Prince most affectionate to your Majesty”; but that the “jealousies” between Guise and the King (of France) made it difficult for Guise to carry out his plans.² This and the letters ensuing were intercepted and deciphered; then fastened up again and delivered.

To the French Ambassador Queen Mary wrote, “. . . the more my enemies search, . . . the more will they discover and find me totally innocent, especially as to this pretended conspiracy of Somerfield [Somerville], the name of whom, or any other condemned for the same deed” [i.e. the intention to slay Queen Elizabeth] “I can wholly swear and protest before God never to have heard named . . .”³

¹ For the immediate concerns of the Royal Captive, from the time of Mendoza’s dismissal, January 1583-4, up to the 30th June 1585, see the *Calendar of State Papers, Scotland, Mary Queen of Scots*, Vol. VII, (1913), edited by W. K. Boyd, F.R.Hist.Soc:—“Many of the documents have been passed over in silence by historians,” wrote Mr. Boyd (p. ix): “They are now . . . made more convenient for those who desire to investigate the history of Scotland more thoroughly . . .” This was twenty-three years ago; but a recent work on Mary Queen of Scots shows no sign of having made use of them. The Calendar text fills 692 pages of small print. The ensuing E.E. selections were made after long consideration of the correspondence in relation to other materials.

² No. 25, pp. 28-32, Cal: S.P. Scotland, Mary Q. of Scots, VII.

³ Ib: No. 5, pp. 5-6. French (Copy) docketed “From ye Sc: Q: to Monsieur Mauvissiree.” Her correspondence—when intercepted—was the easier to class as treason, in that she explained how “the best and most secret writing is allum soaked in a little clean water, 24 hours before one wishes to write. And to read it, it is only necessary to damp the paper in some basin of clear water. The secret writing appears white, sufficiently easy to read until the paper has dried again. You could write in this way on white taffeta or white cloth, especially fine linen . . .”

When, at the end of the same year, she wrote to Mauvissière de Castelnau, "My strict and rigorous captivity keeps me from being suspected of any secret intelligence," little did she dream that every letter was intercepted, and deciphered to be scrutinised by Walsingham and Burghley.

In April 1584 when William Wade was sent to Sheffield to visit the prisoner, she made "bitter speeches of misery" as to sixteen years spent in captivity: "her health impaired, her honour defamed," though she is "an absolute Queen as well as the Queen my mistress."

He had replied to her by eulogies of his Sovereign's "clemency and mercy"; to which words Mary objected, repeating "that she was an absolute Prince as well as her Majesty, and not her inferior, born from her cradle to be a Queen, and afterwards Queen of France by participation, the greatest realm in Christendom"

To explain English severities to the Catholics, Wade reminded her of Pius V's Bull against Elizabeth and all her adherents. "Yes, said the Queen, a Pope shall excommunicate you, but I was excommunicated by a poor Minister, Knokes."¹

Elizabeth was not placated by the messages she received from her "sister." She complained to Lord Shrewsbury of what she termed "vain, unnecessary, and groundless conceits" of the Queen of Scots.² Mary continued to implore to be set at liberty; upon which Lord Burghley commented: "if the same shall be granted for her, to remain in England, . . . with some to attend on her, it were requisite that some two or three hostages, being noblemen of Scotland and France," be "delivered to the custody of the Queen of England for one or two years"

He must have known how improbable it was that any noblemen would volunteer for such an act of chivalry. But in July, Mary was permitted to go to Buxton to take the waters for her health; and from thence she wrote to Mauvissière de Castelnau, urging him to influence "the King my good brother" to intercede for her to be set free³. But as the summer advanced, her hopes of release waned; and on the 9th of October, she wrote to tell Sir Francis Englefield (exiled for her sake,) that she saw no prospect of success in negotiation with the Queen of England: and therefore she assented to his endeavouring to persuade the Pope and the Catholic King to put their "design" in execution next spring. She had not yet received from Spain the 12,000 ducats promised to her.⁴

A month previously, Father Robert Parsons, S.J., had written her from Rome a letter of seven pages, on what the Prince of Parma and Dr. Allen should be able to achieve for her. He besought her to try and escape abroad (which was precisely what Mendoza had told her she must never consent to do).⁵ "But if your Majesty does not resolve your escape," added Parsons, "we shall continue still to solicit as

¹ April 25, 1584. Ib: No. 72, pp. 72-89. Also see No. 92, pp. 109-110, 4 May, Q. Eliz: to Q. Mary, on the report by "our servant Waade." And No. 93, 4 May, Q. Eliz: to E. of Shrewsbury.

² 23 May. Ib: No. 140, pp. 149-150. ³ 7 July. Ib: No. 209, pp. 226-227.

⁴ Ib: No. 333, p. 360. ⁵ E.E. ante. p. 32.

you shall appoint."¹ Nevertheless, assuming that "the Pope, the King of Spain and the Prince of Parma would all combine in her interests, he hoped she could "think it possible and convenient to attempt your escape."

He alluded to a "secret way," and assured her that even if she were pursued, she would find "tall and trusty fellows both by land and sea, and resolute to spend their lives in the service. And if your Majesty can be brought to the seaside, there shall be a vessel ready, sufficiently provided to brook the sea from England . . . If the thing be attempted, it must needs be in these long winter nights." He asks her to answer as soon and as particularly as possible:

(1) "At what place your Majesty thinks the enterprise shall be attempted, and at what time?"

(2) "What company your Highness will have with you, to the end that horses may be provided?"

(3) "To what place your Majesty desires to be conveyed?" and whether, if it were less dangerous to go to Scotland, would she be willing to go thither? (And other questions.)

" . . . to the Pope and the King of Spain there can be no more said or urged than has been; and it seems that the Prince of Parma is only the man who puts things in execution, whereto nothing will so much move him as your Majesty's own effectual and frequent letters. . . . For the payment of the 12,000 crowns to your Majesty from Spain, I will do what I possibly can. . . ."

But he fears it "will be hard to draw any more money" from Spain for Scotland, unless her son becomes "actually a Catholic; and they are half angry with some of us already. . . . God help us, and preserve and deliver, if it be His blessed will, the person of your Majesty, wherein is all our human hope of this world."

He reiterates, "No man has the commodity to despatch the enterprise so easily and so quickly as the Prince of Parma . . . I am certain he has a desire to do it in respect of the honour"; but more for some benefit to himself, "albeit he dissembled the same very cunningly." He had asked Parsons whether the Queen of Scots would marry again? "Whereto I said that on that point I knew least." But His Excellency continued "questioning obscurely." Whereon Father Parsons told him "it would be no small contention" to the Catholics if Queen Mary were in her "royal seat" and had such a husband as the Prince himself; to the benefit not only of England "but to all Christendom." Parma "smiled, and said that he pretended to no such thing"; but would help out of good will. Yet he was "not so mortified to the world" that he would not "accept such a preferment with thankfulness," even though he would not claim it.

Father Parsons adds, "Your Majesty knows that every man nowadays, whatsoever he pretend, seeks his own interest." But he inconsistently expected her to be almost superhuman, and admonished her to rise above grief, and to regard her

¹ 10 Sep: No. 303, pp. 323-328. And see previously July 24: Nos: 218-219, pp. 234-236: "Letters decoded of Father Parsons to Sir Francis Englefield," and "The Lady Hungerford to the Duchesse of Feria" (Jane Dormer). Lady Hungerford characterised Father Robert Parsons as "a rare man, and of much credit and account with the best . . ."

sufferings as "the greatest benediction that possibly your Majesty could receive at God's hands."¹

On November the 16th, Sir Francis Englefield wrote to King Philip expressing a fear for Queen Mary, lest "her royal person be secretly destroyed," perhaps by the Queen of England's consent. And even if she died by natural means, it would be a great loss for Spain, there being many English "who for her right and interest be ready to join with any foreign assistance that should come

"And albeit she has showed more zeal, constancy, and fortitude in the Catholic religion than could be expected in one of her sex, . . . yet finding herself so abandoned and forsaken by all foreign Princes, . . . your Majesty's great piety will not wonder . . . if in these extremities and capital danger" she accepts "such unjust and unequal conditions as the Queen of England will offer."

The injury to the Catholic cause "may be easily conjectured" by the examples in "Germany, France, Scotland" and elsewhere.

"I have oftentimes solicited your Majesty that some signification might be given to her of your Majesty's resolution for her . . . to comfort her and animate her in her former good zeal: . . . But having hitherto obtained nothing to say to her comfort," he ventured to "renew the memory thereof."²

Not only had Mary to endure the incessant mental anguish of hope deferred, but at Wingfield she was subjected to needless bodily discomforts, as Sir Ralph Sadleir deplored to Sir Francis Walsingham:

"since, and in, her late sickness she has found fault with her strait lodgings here; and, as she has cause, with the place where, in health, she used to eat; being much annoyed with smoke and scent of meat from the kitchens . . . as soon as she shall be able to set her foot to the ground, she will be content to be removed to Tutbury."³

Meanwhile she had consented to negotiate with Elizabeth; and on the 28th of November one of her French secretaries, "Monsieur Nau," presented on her behalf to the Queen of England a proposed agreement.⁴

¹ Ib: No: 39, pp. 412-414.

² This, also, in cipher, was intercepted and deciphered: as were other "letters betweene the Q. of Scottes and Sir Francis Englefield" up to 20 May, 1586, including "Diverse relations made to the K. of S., the Pope, the Cardinall Como, etc. for the advancing of the enterprise of England" (the invasion).

³ Cal: No. 403, pp. 433-435. But on 25 Nov: her secretary Nau stated she had "a hard conceit of Tutbury." (No. 405) No. 408, pp. 437-438: 28 Nov: "Household stuff . . ." of the late Lord Paget, sent to Tutbury Castle for Q. Mary. List begins with 56 featherbeds, and includes old and new tapestry, silk quilts and canopies, taffeta curtains fringed with gold; Turkey carpets, brass and iron utensils; pewter candlesticks; and (certainly not for Mary) 5 barrels of gunpowder, and 10 cases of "dagges" (pistols).

⁴ "Articles propounded by Monsieur Nau." Ib: 2 Nov: 1584. No. 410. pp. 438-439. Previously printed in extenso, by Prince Labanoff, Vol. VI. p. 59.

Mary promised that if she could be sure of her "sister" Sovereign's friendship and assistance, she would recognise her as the present lawful Queen, and renounce her own immediate rights to the Crown of England; and also reject the clause in the Pope's Bull which entitled her to reign in Elizabeth's place.

She would not "practise" with English subjects anything tending to foreign or civil war, nor support any person convicted of treason against her "good sister." She would not enter into treaty with foreign Kings or Princes for war against England; but would make a defensive league with her "sister"; and an offensive league too, if she could have good assurance and secret recognition of her right of succession to the Crown of England. She promised not to leave England without the Queen's license; and if returning to Scotland, she would not try to change the established religion. She would grant pardon for offences done against her, and endeavour to bring about a general reconciliation with her nobility. Her son should not marry without English approval; and she would endeavour to obtain from the King of France and the Princes of the house of Lorraine their assent and concurrence in this Treaty.

But in some Considerations upon this in Walsingham's hand, it is maintained that Mary's liberty would endanger Queen Elizabeth, and embolden the Catholics, and that the country is in no condition to provoke such further troubles as might arise from releasing the "ambitious" prisoner.¹

In 27 comments on Q. Mary's proposals, more explicit expressions on her part are requested: as for example, that she not only avow "the Queen's Majesty to be lawful Queen of England," but "*so lawful that no Prince or Potentate has power to deprive her, and that the Crown of England is free and not holden of any worldly potentate, but only of God, so that neither her Majesty nor any other who shall be lawfull King or Queen of England in any time coming can or ought to be deprived . . .*"²

Further "Articles for the Scottish Queen," exact "that she shall no way relieve or procure relief directly or indirectly for her Majesty's rebels or other disobedient subjects of England, as Jesuits, seminaries, fugitives," and others who "daily seek, or shall hereafter seek to stir up foreign Princes, by colour and in favour of her . . ."³ In the margin this is marked as "Assented unto."

Early in December⁴ Sir Ralph Sadleir informed Sir Francis Walsingham that Tutbury was "in good readiness." He asked for 24 pieces of matting "for this Queen's chamber and cabinets; for she remembers that the house stands high and the rooms deep, and so the cold will be sharper, which is the greatest enemy to her disease and body . . ."⁴

Three days later, Sir Francis Englefield wrote to the Cardinal of Como,

¹ Nov: No. 413 to 415, pp. 440-442.

² Dec: No. 246, pp. 452-458. ³ Dec: No. 429, pp. 457-458.

⁴ 2 Dec: No. 432, p. 459.

protesting against the delays of Rome, while the Queen of Scots is "committed to the custody of three pestilent Protestants." To the Cardinal he uses the same arguments as previously to the King of Spain: that although the Queen of Scots had patiently endured "perilous imprisonment almost twenty years" [actually almost seventeen in England], she was now in such increased "distresses and desolations" that she might consent to unsuitable propositions.

He begs that the Pope appoint "a Cardinal of our nation," so that foreign Princes "would give better ear and credit" to the English Catholics. He hopes His Holiness has not been influenced by reasons devised by Don Bernardino de Mendoza against the enterprise on behalf of Queen Mary. If the Pope will inform himself through Father Parsons, he will hear the "secret cause of Don Benardino's sudden change." But Mendoza should not "induce the change or alteration of His Holiness's former promise and designation . . ."¹

On the same day Englefield wrote to Queen Mary from "my wonted lodging." He feared there was little news to content her; and that while Don Bernardino remained in France there would be a "colder ear" at the Court to her requirements. While the Queen of England lives in "that domestical quiet and security which she hath hitherto enjoyed and still enjoys," there is not much hope for aid for the Queen of Scots from France.

"I have proceeded here to lay before the Pope and the King of Spain the great dangers to your Majesty's royal person, . . . from the delay of executing that which has been so long solicited at their hands," which they have "pretended to intend . . ." Englefield assures her of his uttermost fidelity, service and prayer.² This too was intercepted.

" . . . I have much ado to keep her in tune of patience . . .," wrote Sadleir to Walsingham, three days later: She "is not able to strain her left foot to the ground. And to her great grief, not without tears, finds that leg wasted for lack of natural nourishment . . ."³

A week later one of the Catholic refugees abroad was writing to her of his attempts to advance her cause with the Prince of Parma; but complained that Parma "more delights and occupies himself in martial affairs than [in being] careful or diligent in despatching of political matters;" as he "has been lately, and yet is, in the enterprise of stopping up the river of Antwerp; whereon depends his own reputation and a great part of the success of the affairs of this country; so that he neglects other things."

Whereas Father Parsons believed Parma to attach the utmost importance to the rescue of Queen Mary, this other correspondent feared that the "enterprise"

¹ Dec: 5: (Copy), No. 439, pp. 468-469.

² 5 Dec: No. 440, pp. 471-472. ³ 8 Dec: No. 447, pp. 479-480.

for her aid had never been seriously intended. He reminds her how the Duke of "Alva" should have invaded England in 1569, and how it was the lack of the promised Spanish reinforcement which then prevented the Catholics bringing "wonders to pass."¹

The day after Christmas, Lord Paget wrote to Queen Mary describing his dealings with the Prince of Parma, who had "answered that his devotion to do your Majesty all humble service" was so great that he desired nothing more than to have opportunity to take action. But Paget realised that some of the previous assurances had been given before the complete Spanish conquest of the Azores; viz, while Queen Mary's alliance was still "requisite" to Spain. He apprehended, now, that King Philip would only move when it should exactly suit the Spanish interests; so he attached the less importance to the Prince of Parma's speeches. But, by interrogating Parma's secretary, he discovered that if Don Bernardino de Mendoza had "done his part," the Queen of Scots would certainly have received the promised money from Spain long since.²

Among other papers intercepted is a copy of a letter from Queen Mary, docketed as having been sent to the Pope and the King of Spain.

"Of the treaty between the Queen of England and me for my liberty I neither hope nor look for good issue.

Whatsoever shall become of me, by whatsoever change of my estate and condition, let the execution of the great plot and designment go forward, without any respect of peril or danger to me." (These words underlined). And she repeats, "I pray you use all possible diligence and endeavour to preserve and procure at the Pope's and the Catholic King's hands such a speedy execution of their former designment that the same may be effectuated some time the next spring . . ."³

Whoever enclosed this to Spain had added, "the Queen of England and her Council, having first by printed libel published the Queen of Scotland to be a confederate practiser with Don Bernardino de Mendoza and Francis Throgmorton against the Queen and the realm of England, have also contrived and set forth a new form of Association and confederacy, whereby all men shall swear and subscribe to resist and pursue all who shall pretend any right in succession to the Crown of England . . ."⁴

The letter concludes with a forecast which if it were uttered on the stage would be acclaimed as a masterstroke of tragic prediction.

" . . . if she perish,—which is now most likely,—it cannot be but very scandalous and infamous to his Catholic Majesty, because he being, after the Queen of Scotland, the nearest Catholic that is to be found of that blood royal, shall ever

¹ 14 Dec: Ib: No. 456. Mr. Liggins to Q. Mary. And see E.E. Vol. II, pp. 21-34.

² No. 471, pp. 501-505.

³ 29 Dec: No. 475, pp. 507-508. ⁴ See ante, pp. 191, 206-207.

be subject to the false suspicion of leaving and abandoning that good Queen to be devoured by her competitors, for making the way more open to his own claim and interest."

But "At London, the 22 of November, 1584," the Master of Gray had written Queen Mary advice remarkably different from that of Sir Francis Englefield, Thomas Morgan, Charles Paget, and Father Parsons.¹ Contradicting a story she had heard of his having "turned my cloak," and remonstrating with her for believing Fontenay, one of her French secretaries, "a fantastic creature, who is neither wise, secret, nor experienced," Gray protested,

" . . . I love my religion as much as any Jesuit or other priest in Europe." But he warned her not to be influenced by "misreporting" persons who urged her to dangerous attempts: " . . . seeing the end of your design is to be successor to the Crown of England, my opinion is that all violent courses are injury to it . . . "

If she countenances aggression against "the Prince that now reigneth, it were enough to animate so the subjects hearts against you," that it would reduce the chance that they would ever assent to her claim, "fearing the like violence" themselves.

" . . . it is not unknown unto your Majesty what fear they have of this kind of violence in this country: for which cause they have instituted their new Association, and, as far as I can learn, the people is very willing to embrace it

"Therefore, Madam, as I shall answer first to God, and next unto the King my master and your Majesty, my opinion is that you follow some solid, calm, and quiet course, and most advantageous for the accomplishment of your design."

He advises her to enter into "honest and friendly" relations with the Queen of England, and assent without jealousy to Elizabeth possessing during her life "that which hath been provided for her by God":

"And if it so please Him, after her, your Majesty and the King your son may enter with contentment, both to yourselves and your subjects into a peacable kingdom.

Your Majesty may object that in all overtures, friends are to be retained. I assent, . . . but *these friends must be other than foreigners . . .*"

This seems to be a warning against reliance upon Spain or France. Gray's tone is admonitory rather than deferential.

" . . . it is more fit for your Majesty that the King enter into solid friendship with the Queen of England. . . . And think not, Madam, the King's Majesty to be so bairn-like that fair offers, without the apparent effect to follow, shall content him: as that I his messenger am so destitute of good reason that I cannot very well discern the shadow from the verity. . . ."

¹ Harl. MS. 290. f. 146. Indorsed "A Copy of A.B letter into MS." but identified as from the Master of Gray by the editor of "*Letters . . . relating to the Master of Gray*," Bannatyne Club, 1835, pp. 30-37.

He assured her that he was not forsaking her cause: "For, as I have already done, (if I shall be well used,) I shall never spare life nor gear in all your Majesty's honest actions. . . .

"I pray God, Madam, to send you a long and happy life, with better health and greater contentment than hitherto. . . ."

How he could expect her to have health or contentment in the seventeenth year of her captivity, we may well wonder. And she replied by asking if he was not himself influenced by persons who had more regard for their own "commodity" than for the public service?

She was grieved, also, by the indifference of James: "I call God and all Christian Princes to witness that I have done the duty of a good mother . . ."; so he ought to be an "obedient son."¹

In this letter (from "Wingfield, ce xiiij de Decembre 1584") Queen Mary makes no promises; and shows natural resentment at being lectured.

The elaborate duplicity of the Master of Gray was not suspected by her; but his cold comfort disposed her more and more to trust the counsels of the ardent and emotional Thomas Morgan. Her hopes were fed by Mendoza, and we will see her relying further upon Spain. Meanwhile, at the Court of Elizabeth, all such as resented the prospect of succession of the Queen of Scots, were watching for a pretext to put the power of the law in motion against her. If not in one way, then in another, they hoped to find her laying herself open to condemnation. As Paget had rightly divined, the Oath of Association was meant to apply against the captive Mary as well as to meet the machinations of King Philip.

To prevent any possible public misunderstanding, that new Oath was printed: "*An acte for prouision to be made for the suertie of the Queenes Maiesties most Royal person, and the continuance of the Realme in peace.*"² The preamble asserted

¹ French. Copy. Cotton MS. Calig: C.VIII. f. 162. (Op. cit. pp. 37-39).

² In a small folio B.L. volume, title within woodcut border: "Anno xxvii Regiae Elizabethae. At the Parliament begunne and holden at Westminster, the xxijij of Nouember, in the xxvii yeere of the reigne of our most gracious Soueraigne Lady Elizabeth, by the Grace of God, of England, France, and Ireland Queene, defendor of the Faith, etc. and there continued untill the xxix of March following: To the high pleasure of Almighty God, and the weale publike of this Realm, were enacted as followeth. Imprinted at London by Christopher Barker, Printer to the Queenes most excellent Maiestie. 1585."

At the end of Chap xxvii is the same woodcut of the Royal Arms which was subsequently used for Lord Leicester's "Lawes & Ordinances of Warre." See E.E., Vol. VI, p. 25. This is also repeated in the Statute Book as a colophon, "Imprinted at London by Christopher Barker, Printer to the Queenes most excellent Maiestie," &c.

In this Parliament there was "An Act for the Queenes Maiesties most gratiouse generall and free pardon." After a discourse on her clemency and "courteous liberalitie," there ensue 9 pages of exceptions,—such as burglars, robbers, rapes, counterfeiting coin, "Witchcrafts, Sorceries, Inchantments and charmers," and publishers of "false seditious and slanderous bookees, libell or libelles, against any person or persons" (this last in consequence of the libels against Lord Leicester). Exempted from the General Pardon also were any persons who had fled out of the realm for treason, or contrary to law.

that the "felicitie" of the Realm depended "onely next under God" upon the preservation of the Queen's life. And as there had of late been "sundrie wicked plots" both beyond seas and within the realm, the Lords spiritual and temporal, and the Commons in Parliament, (for "preventing of such great perils as might hereafter otherwise growe,") enacted that if after the present Session any open invasion or rebellion were attempted, or if anyone "*pretended any title to the Crown of this Realme after her Maisties decease*," or if anything were "compassed or *imagined*" to the injury of the Queen's Royal person, the person or persons offending could be tried by special Commission under the Great Seal.¹

¹ In "Mary Queen of Scots and the Babington Plot," 1922, p. cxiii, Father Pollen referred to this as "the monstrous Bond of Association, according to which no evidence was necessary against the accused." But *vide* the actual wording, E.E. ante, pp. 206-207. Father Pollen does not appear to have seen the text in extenso either of this Oath or of Pope Pius's Bull, E.E. Vol. II, pp. 43-48. Likewise Hosack, "Mary Queen of Scots and her Accusers," most carefully examining Mary's own writings, and answering many unjust charges, nevertheless did not ascertain the words either of the Bull or of the Oath.

PART III.

“*Ambitious, Politic, and Valiant.*”

CHAPTER 6.

“*PRESENT DANGER.*”

SECTION I.

“*Rather a matter of Conscience than of State.*”

(*The sorrows of Philip, Earl of Arundel and Surrey, 1585.*)

“Forget all injuries done to your father.”

Thomas Howard Duke of Norfolk to his eldest son, Philip, Earl of Surrey.
20 January, 1571-2. From the Tower. (Harl: MS. 787. 105).

Lord Henry Howard “completely rules his nephews, and constantly keeps before them the need of resenting the death of their father, and following the party of the Queen of Scots, by whose means alone they can hope for vengeance. . . . I keep up a close intimacy with him . . . he serves your Majesty with greater care and intelligence than I can well say . . .”

Don Bernardino de Mendoza to King Philip, 6th March, 1582. State Papers, Spanish, Cal: Vol. III. pp. 313-316.

“. . . the knowledge of my present danger did hasten me to go.”

“*Letter written by ye Earle of Arundell to the Queenes Mat^{ie} when he departed . . .*”
(Copy Hatfield MS. 242. 1.)

“. . . never was I privy to any plot or practise . . . against her Majesty or her State: and if it can be proved that I was made privy either to any former plot or any new practice, I desire no favour. . . .”

“I confess I was slipping, but not fallen . . . she hath raised many that have slipped more, and therefore I cannot despair but that she can raise me. . . .”

Philip, Earl of Arundel and Surrey, to Vice-Chamberlain Sir Christopher Hatton:
“*From the Tower the 7th of May 1585.*” (B.M. Add: MS. 15891. f.148^b).

GENEALOGICAL NOTE.

*"Since William rose and Harold fell,
There have been Earls at Arundel."*

In 1066, the year after the battle of Hastings, Roger de Montgomery, Count of Alençon in Maine and late Regent of Normandy, was granted the first English Earldom created by the Conqueror. A succession of Montgomeries, Albinis, and FitzAlans, bore the title of Earl of Arundel during five centuries.¹

Henry FitzAlan, the 24th Earl of Arundel, had no son. His daughter and heiress, Lady Mary, was the first wife of Thomas Howard 4th Duke of Norfolk. When her only child was born, 27th June, 1557, she had not yet completed her seventeenth year; but she lived only another couple of months; and was buried at St Clement Danes, 25th August, 1557.

Her son, Philip, had been baptised on the 2nd July, at the Chapel Royal, Whitehall, King Philip, then King Consort of England, being his godfather.

The Duke of Norfolk soon remarried: his choice was Margaret, heiress of Thomas Lord Audley, and widow of Lord Henry Dudley, who had been killed at St Quentin.²

This 2nd Duchess became mother of Lord William and Lord Thomas Howard, and of Lady Margaret Howard; and died when her step-son Philip was in his seventh year, January 1563-4. Before 1566, the Duke took a third wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Francis Leyburne and widow of Baron Dacre of Gillesland.³ She died in 1567 at the birth of a child which did not live.

Philip, Lord Maltravers, Earl of Surrey, was contracted to his late step-mother's twelve-year-old daughter Anne Dacre, eldest sister and co-heiress of George Lord Dacre of Gillesland. The younger Dacre sister was betrothed to Philip's brother, Lord William Howard, who in her right became owner of Nawarth Castle, and was ancestor of the Earls of Carlisle, and of the late Captain John Howard, R.N. of Rushett, Faversham, Kent. (See E.E., vol: I, p. ii.)

In 1580, on the death of the last FitzAlan Earl of Arundel, his grandson, Philip Howard Earl of Surrey, succeeded to the Arundel Earldom, and thenceforth was spoken of by that title. The main events of his life will be seen in "*Elizabethan England*," in juxtaposition with English and European politics during the eventful years 1585-95.

"The Life and Death of the Renowned Confessor Philip Howard Earl of Arundel, Edited from the orig: MS. by The Duke of Norfolk, E.M. 1857," was the first and most graphic of a series of tributes to him. His case now fills Volume 21 of the Catholic Records, "*The English Martyrs*," Vol. II, 1919. The first is the source of many quotations ensuing; and in the second the student will find in extenso a collection of documents essential for biographical study of our Premier Earl, who in 1929 was beatified at Rome. In "*Elizabethan England*" we will try to see him as he appeared during his lifetime, estimating his ideas and feelings chiefly from his own words.

¹ See *G.E.C., Complete Peerage*, 1887, Vol. I, pp. 138-156; and table E.E. Vol. II, facing p. 150.

² E.E., Vol. I, Prologue, sec: xiii, p. 102.

³ G.E.C., Vol. I (1887), p. 153.

NINE POPES CONTEMPORARY WITH QUEEN ELIZABETH'S REIGN
(1558-1603).

As the general reader sometimes asks, "Who was the Pope in Queen Elizabeth's day?" the undernoted list of nine Popes during the forty-four and a half years from the time of her accession to her death may be found convenient. (Dates, &c., from Sir Paul Rycaut's translation and Continuation of Platina's "Lives of the Popes.")

PAPAL TITLE	SURNAME	DATE OF PAPACY.	ACTION IN REGARD TO ENGLAND.
Paul IV	Caraffa	1555-1559	Received embassy from Queen Mary and King Philip, restoring England's "obedience." (See E.E. Vol. I, p. 76.)
Pius IV	Medici (of Como)	1559(60)- 1565	
Pius V [Beatified in 1672 by Clement X. Canonised in 1712 by Clement XI].	Ghislieri	1566-1572	Issued Bull and Declaration against Elizabeth, 1569-70. (See E.E. Vol. II, p. 4449.) Accepted Mary Queen of Scots as the legitimate heir to the English throne.
Gregory XIII	Boncompagni	1572-1585	Confirmed Pope Pius V's Bull against Elizabeth.
Sixtus V	Peretti ("of obscure parents at Montalto in the Marches of Ancona")	1585-1590	Ditto. Encouraged Philip of Spain to plan conquest of England, and created Dr. W. Allen Cardinal of England.
Urban V	Castagna ("of an ancient noble family of Genoa.")	1590 Sep: 7th to 27th.	
Gregory XIV	Sfondrati ("a rich and ancient family in Milan")	1590-1591 5th Dec: to 15th Oct.	Described by Queen Elizabeth as a "peculiar Pope" (See her Edict of 1591.)
Innocent IX	Fachinetti	1591 29 Oct: to 29 Decr.	
Clement VII	Aldobrandini	1592-1604(5)	

PART III.

“Ambitious, Politic, and Valiant.”

CHAPTER 2.

“PRESENT DANGER.”

SECTION I.

“Rather a matter of Conscience
than of State.”

(*The arrest of Philip, Earl of Arundel, 1585*).

ON the 26th of April, 1585, the French Ambassador, Mauvissière de Castelnau, sent his King the startling news that in attempting “*quelque entreprise de sortir hors de cedict Royaulme, le Conte d'Arondel, qui est le premier des seigneurs de ce Royaulme, filz du Duc de Norfort, dont la race a este fort infortunée*,” had incurred the Queen’s heavy displeasure. “*C'est maintenant Catholique, luy et ces frères, comme il y a ung très grand nombre en ce Royaulme, ou ceste Princesse fest de grands preparatifs de s'armer, et par mer et par terre...*”¹ To attempt to leave the Kingdom without the royal permission, and at this especial junction, was regarded as so extraordinary an action that it astonished both friends and foes.

Lord Arundel (as his first Catholic biographer expresses it,) was of a “natural vivacity and forwardness of wit”; and had delighted to entertain the Queen in “plentiful, bountiful, and splendid sort.”² Time was to come when he looked upon worldly joys as “shadowes”; but in youth he was so “much addicted to sport and mirth” that few if any would have forecasted beatification as his destiny.

In “*A Description of his Person and Natural Gifts*,” written in the 17th century by a Jesuit, under the superintendence of his widow, he is said to have been of a “comely countenance” and “pleasant disposition.”³ But the only

¹ Royal Lib: Paris, 9513. “*Lettres Originales d'Etat*”, Vol. II. p. 293; in the Earl of Ellesmere’s “*Life of Sir Thomas Egerton . . . Lord Chancellor*”, (1828), p. 202.

² “*The Life and Death of the Renowned Confessor, Philip Howard Earl of Arundel.*” p. 30.

³ Ib. ch. XIX. pp. 126-128; and see pp. 16, and 130.

portraits now extant depicting him in manhood are unexpressive; so presumably he had some grace or magnetism which escaped the painter's skill.¹

"His memory was excellent, his wit more than ordinary. He was naturally eloquent and of a ready speech. Whilst he was a Protestant, he once out of merriment disguised himself in the habit of a Minister, . . . and going upon a Sunday to the church of a certain country town there preached in such manner that some of good understanding . . . affirmed they seldom heard a better Sermon . . ."

[As to his memory,] "Going one day from the Cathedral Church of St Paul in London to his own house without Temple Bar, he observed the signs of all the houses that were on the left side of the street, which are some hundreds questionless; and being come into his house he caused one of his servants to write them down in a paper as he named them; and another being sent with the paper to try thereby if the signs of the houses did agree both in name number and order with those written in the paper, found them exactly so to do."

In those days he was so "carry'd away with Company, youthfull entertainments, pleasures and delights", says his first biographer, that he "did scarce so much as think of God."

In 1581 he was present in the Tower at a disputation between Father Campion S.J., and other priests, against Whittaker and a corresponding number of Protestant clergy; but "a good while passed" (i.e. four years) before he decided to join the Catholic Church. The final resolution came upon him when he was "walking one day alone in his Gallery of his Castle at Arundel," a contributory influence being a book "written not long before by Mr. Doctor Allen."² On returning to London he lent Allen's work to his half-brother Lord William Howard, and "dealt so efficaciously with him that he also resolved to be a Catholick."

It was not by the influence of his wife that Arundel was moved; for though even as a child she had been "Catholickly inclined," Arundel had forgotten his father's dying injunction to find his chief comfort in "Nanne." Not long after he first came to Court, he began to neglect her,

"and after some time in a manner to reject her, by signifying and saying unto some that he knew not if she were his Wife or no, and so wholly absenting himself from her. . . . The occasion of this was a great desire he had to give contentment to the Queen: for having understood by some who had caused his Nativity to be calculated, that he should be in danger to be overthrown by a Woman (the which he interpreted to be no other than the

¹ Of the three principal portraits two belong to the Duke of Norfolk, and one to Sir Henry Bedingfield. See Catholic Records, Vol. 21, for reproductions.

An inventory dated "Kenilworth viij Oct. 1588", one month after Lord Leicester's death ("Notes and Queries", 3rd Scr: 11, 1862, pp. 201-2) contains reference to "The picture of the Lord Arundel with a curtaine" (which means it was a valuable picture). It comes immediately after "Two Great Tables of the Queenes Majesties Pictures with one curtaine changeable silk. Two Great Pictures of my Lord in whole proportion, the one in armour, the other in a suit of russet satin: With one curtaine to them. An other Picture of my Lord in halfe proportion, done in black garments. The picture of St Jerom . . .".

As the Queen broke up and sold Leicester's collection at the end of 1588, we have no means of ascertaining if "the Lord of Arundel" was Henry FitzAlan, 24th Earl; or his grandson and successor Philip Earl of Arundel and Surrey. The next item after Arundel's portrait is "The picture of the Lord Maltravers with a curtaine": i.e. of the son of the Earl of Arundel.

² "Life and Death," p. 20. Not specified which of Dr. William Allen's books. Possibly his "Apologie," 1581, or his subsequent reply, 1584 to "The Execution of Justice in England." For Bibliographical Notes on Dr. Allen's chief works, 1567-1592, see E.E. vol. VI.

Queen) he endeavoured by all means to get and keep her favour: and because he well perceived she could not endure his Lady (nor indeed the wife of any one to whom she shew'd any special grace), thereupon" he behaved to his wife "in such manner as was notorious to all who knew them. . . ."¹

It was only after his succession to the Earldom of Arundel, on the death of his maternal grandfather, that he began to wish for children. His first child, a daughter, had been christened Elizabeth: possibly after the Queen, who, however, behaved with extreme harshness to the Catholic Lady Arundel.²

In his last years Arundel "*was very repentent of his unkind and hard usage*" of his wife, "*and often asked her pardon for it.*" But in 1585, though his conversion made "*a great change in his maner of Life,*" he kept it secret from her. About this time he was "*informed*" says his earliest biographer, that certain courtiers (unnamed) plotted "*his Ruin and Overthrow.*" And it was his "*giving credit*" to these stories that made him begin "*to think of leaving the kingdome*"

"and going into France, where he thought he might live more safely and serve God more quietly. Father Weston did all he could to dissuade him from that course, . . . but either his own fear, or some other men's persuasions were more prevailing; he resolved to go, and with as much privacy as possibly might be, in so much that he did not acquaint his Lady therewith."

Learning his intention from some third person, *she did very earnestly desire to have gone with him.* But because she was then with Child, . . . and for some other Reasons, he not thinking it convenient, persuaded her to stay behind him, assuring her that afterwards he would take such Order that she should follow him.

And because he did think that his Enemies after his Departure would by their slanderous Reports endeavour to disgrace him with the People and *cause the Queen to have sinister Surmises of him*, he writ a long Letter to her, which he left with his Sister the Lady Margaret Sackvil to be delivered to the Queen after his arrival in France.³

This letter, meant to placate the Queen, had an opposite effect:⁴

"May it please your Most Excellent Majestie,

"As the displeasure of a Prince is a heavier burthen to bear than the hard conceit of a meaner and inferior person," so likewise is it "*less convenient for Princes to form any "opinion of mislike" without "fault committed worthy to deserve it. . . . I can witness it hath been*

¹ "*Life and Death,*" etc. pp. 13-14.

² In the 1584 libel against Lord Leicester, (ante) in addition to Sorcery, Atheism, Adultery, Murder, and High Treason, Leicester is accused of habitually making mischief between husbands and wives:—

"I could give you divers examples of these kinds of practices, as that of the Earl of Arundel and his wife, between whom he has struggled to produce discord, hoping by this means to ruin the greatest and most honourable family in England."

But Leicester had nothing whatsoever to do with Arundel's behaviour to Lady Arundel; the reasons for which were the astrologer's prognostication (*supra*).

³ "*Life and Death*" etc. p. 30. His half sister was married to Robert Sackville, son and heir of Thomas, Lord Buckhurst, ultimately Earl of Dorset.

⁴ Orig: not found. A contemporary copy is at Hatfield (MS. 242.1.) docketed "*Letter written by ye Earle of Arundell to the Queenes Matre when he departed the Realme of England.*" Signed "Philipp Arundell." A clerk had added to the endorsement "*Causes of the Earle of Arundell's Indictment Anno 1589;*" but this is misleading, for the 1589 Indictment related largely to his alleged conduct in the Tower during the crisis of 1588. The ensuing quotations are from this letter as printed in "*The Life and Death of the Renowned Confessor Philip Howard Earl of Arundel. Edited from the MS. at Arundel Castle by the Duke of Norfolk E.M.*" London, 1857; pp. 31-51. Reprinted in Catholic Records, Vol. 21, "*The English Martyrs,*" Vol. II (1919).

manner of your proceedings to know the cause before you give your censure, and to hear the matter before you condemn the person."

Being "most desirous" to keep her good opinion, he argues that many actions which at first seem "rash and unadvised" may after "ripe" consideration be acknowledged "just and necessary. . . ."

.... since my first coming to the Court which is ix or x years past at the least, it hath been my chieftest care how to please your Majesty and to perform that which I thought might most content you . . . I made myself a stranger in mine own house to be a continual waiter upon your Majesty, and better to live in any sort at Court than to live the best sort at home: for I thought myself most happy when I was most near to your Majesty . . .

But at the last, whether the malice of mine adversaries, by reason of your Majesty's good countenance towards me did begin to be greater than in time past it had been, I know not: but I found little and little your good opinion declined . . . I heard from time to time how your Majesty in words took exceptions to many of mine actions, and how it pleased you in your daily speeches to bewray hard and evil conceit of me. I saw such as you had never favoured did enjoy your Majesty's countenance, which till that time they could by no means obtain . . .

He reproaches her for "*bitter speaches*," and that he was "*in manner pointed at as one whom your Majesty did least favour and most disgrace*." (The Queen's oldest and most devoted ministers had put up with as much or more from her varying "humours"; Burghley four years earlier, had withdrawn from the Court in "heart breaking" distress because of Her Majesty's temper; Walsingham, two years since, had in private complained of her unkind dealing at the time of his daughter's marriage; Sir Henry Sidney had been met with "sour looks" and reproaches even after subduing an Irish rebellion. Philip, Earl of Arundel, who had performed no services, only suffered in common with those to whom she owed the building up and maintenance of her power. But this he seems not to have realised.)

" . . . I continued some months in this disgrace," he wrote, "without knowing either what was the ground of your Majesty's displeasure, or hearing what was to be the end of mine own misfortune: Till at last I was called by your commandment before your Majesty's Council at two sundry times, where many things were objected against me," some "ridiculous," others "so unlikely as were incredible, but all of them so untrue as none of them could be justified."

Again he refers to his "adversaries" at the Court, and to Her Majesty's "hard conceit" under the influence of "mine enemies." He had been confined to his own house, from December 1583, for "xv weeks at the least," for no apparent fault, when his conscience was clear of all offence.

While he was under restraint,—or rather, he says, "after I had escaped safely these storms,"—he "*began to call to remembrance the heavy sentence which had lighted upon three of my Ancestors who went immediately before me*": the first his great-grandfather the Duke of Norfolk, who was attainted by Act of Parliament because there was no existing law under which to condemn him. The second his grandfather Henry, Earl of Surrey, who "*was brought to his trial and condemned for such trifles as it amazed the standers by at that time and is ridiculous at this day. . . .*"

(This description is by no means too severe. But in both cases the tyrant was not Elizabeth but Henry VIII.)

"The last, being my father was arraigned according to the law, and condemned by his Peers. God forbid that I should think but that his triars did that whereto their consciences did lead them."

Yet he protests that howsoever the Duke might have been "*drawn into danger greater than himself did either see or imagine*," he had not "*carried any disloyal mind to your Majesty*" or *to his country*. Actually Norfolk on the eve of execution had written to Philip, "*Forget all injuries done to your father, and be of an humble spirit. . . . Love them that have loved me, and for charity's sake forget all my injuries.*"¹ But in 1585 that same son protested to the Queen,

"When I had considered the fortune of those three past, I called to mind mine own danger which was present, and did think it not impossible by the show of this rough beginning but that I might as well follow them in their fortune as I had succeeded them in their place."

Again he complains of the "greatness" of his "enemies power to overthrow" him, and reproaches the Queen for being easily drawn "*to a suspicion and hard opinion of mine ancestors*," and declares that he was leaving England because his "*innocency*" was "*no sufficient warrant to protect me in safety.*"

He then comes to the main point: his having been charged by the Council "to be of that religion which they accompted odious, and dangerous to your estate."

"Lastly, but principally, I weighed in what miserable and doubtful case my soul had remained if that my life had been taken, as it was not unlikely to be, in my former troubles; for I protest the greatest burthen that rested on my conscience was because I had not lived according to the prescript rule of that which I undoubtedly did believe to be the Truth."

Since this decision to save his soul from "shipwreck", "although my body were subject to the peril of misfortune," he had felt "a great deal more quiet in my mind. And at this present I have occasion to think my most mortal enemies my chiefest friends: nay I have most just occasion to esteem my past troubles as my greatest felicity: For both of them were (though indirectly) means to lead me to the course which bringeth perfitt quietness"

although joining the Catholic Church meant "peril to myself" and "occasion of mislike to your Majesty."

"The first day of this Parliament when your Majesty with all your nobility was hearing of a sermon in the Collegiate church of Westminster above in the chancel, I was driven to walk by myself in one of the aisles."

Realising that his absenting himself must soon be noticed, and knowing with "what a watchful and jealous eye" all Recusants were supervised,

"how all their lodgings were being continually searched, and to how great danger they were subject, if any Jesuit or seminaire priest were found within their houses, I began to consider that either I could not serve God in such sort as I had professed, or else I must incur hazard of greater punishment"

Long considering "what course to take," and "in what continual danger I did remain here in England, both by laws heretofore established and by a New Act lately made, I did think it my safest way to depart the realm, and abide in some other place where I might live without danger to my conscience, without offence to your Majesty, without the servile subjection to mine enemies, and without this peril to my life."

His decision had not been made without a struggle:

"For on the one side my native country, friends, wife and kinsfolk did invite me to stay; on the other side the misfortunes of my house, the power of mine adversaries, the remembrance of my former troubles, and the knowledge of my present danger did hasten me to go"

¹ Harl. MS. 787. No. 105. f. 115; 4. See E.E. vol. II, Pt. II. 1, 7, pp. 129-144.

And knowing by experience the dealings of those that go over the seas are hardly interpreted, though the intent of them be never so good . . . , I presumed to write this Letter to your Majesty to declare the true reasons and causes of my departing, both to remove all occasions of doubt and suspicion from your Majesty, which otherwise this sudden departure of mine might peradventure procure."

Assuring her that he still hopes for her "good and gracious opinion" which he was "ever most willing to deserve," he affirms that those who were of the "state and condition" he had been in, either "must tell you that they would have done the same" as he, "or plainly acknowledge themselves **ATHEISTS**."

Such a challenge would have offended even a less domineering ruler than Elizabeth. The possible cause of Arundel's outburst is that his uncle Lord Henry Howard had advised him to be a Catholic secretly, and continue to conform outwardly to the Established Church,¹ and to Arundel's frank nature any such double part was repulsive.

To the Queen, it seemed outrageous that the Duke of Norfolk's son could describe as "just and convenient" his departure from her realm at a time when the other peers were arming to defend her against a probable attack from Spain. But he reiterated,

" . . . if my protestation (*who never told your Majesty any untruth*) may carry any credit in your opinion, I here call God and his angels to witness that I would not have taken this course if I might have stayed in England without danger to my soul *and peril to my life . . .*"

Reiterating that all who do not do as he does are "atheists," and again reproaching her bitterly for withdrawal of favour from himself, he added,

" as it is the true token of a noble mind, and hath always been noted for a certain argument of your Majesty's gracious disposition, in that it hath ever pleased you to take pity on those that are in misery, and to respect with the eyes of favour all afflicted persons, so cannot I be brought any whit to fear your Majesty will make me the first example of your severe and rigorous dealing in laying your displeasure upon me, who am inforced to forsake my country, to forego my friends, to leave my living, and to lose the hope of all wordly pleasures and earthly commodities, if either I will not consent to the certain destruction of my body, or willingly yield to the manifest endangering of my soul . . . and though the loss of temporal commodities be so grievous to flesh and blood, as I could not desire to live if I were not comforted by the hope of eternal happiness in another world, and the remembrance of His mercy for whom I endure all this (who endured ten thousand times more for me) yet I assure your Majesty that your displeasure should be more unpleasant unto me than the bitterness of all other losses . . . "

He ends with a hope for "that favourable construction at your Majesty's hands which I may justly challenge" because "my good dealings heretofore hath sufficiently deserved the same"; and he beseeches God "to send your Majesty as great happiness as I wish mine own soul" (which may have been a prayer for her conversion).

Her retort was that there need be no danger to his body unless he offended against her laws; and as to his soul, his dying father had warned him against precisely such a course as he was now taking:

" . . . if you love me," the Duke had written from the Tower, "or if you will seem grateful to me for the special love that I have ever borne unto you, then remember and follow these my last

¹ Later letter of Thomas Morgan, *State Papers*, Murdin, p. 529.

lessons. O Philip . . . upon my blessing beware of blind Papistry, . . . I write somewhat the more . . . because *perchance you have heretofore heard, or perchance may hereafter hear false bruits that I was a Papist . . .*¹

A week later, the Duke wrote again:

"I trust dear Children that you will be mindfull of my often repeated lesson . . . to feare and serve God . . .

The next point of your duty in this world is not severed from this, but rather annexed: which is obedience and earnest dutiful love to your Sovereign Lady . . . which Lesson we are taught out of the Scripture, not only to be obedient for fear, but even for conscience sake. This is generally spoken to all subjects, but *how much more then ought ye to be doubly mindful of this lesson . . . thereby to make some recompense for your father's undutiful deserts.* I hope these Causes will sufficiently plant in your hearts fear and love towards our most gracious Sovereign . . ."²

Yet, at the very time when the other peers were preparing for war with Spain, and all England was watching for the moment when the Queen would permit her troops to go to the aid of hard-pressed Antwerp, the Duke's son, instead of gathering his retainers together for the service of the Crown, was planning flight abroad. But if we did not know of the Low Country war, or of the oath to defend the Queen, we would never, from Arundel's letter, dream of the existence of the one or the other.

Inevitably the Queen thought him inconsistent to invoke his father's memory when reversing his father's counsels; and she felt doubly affronted, in that she had been merciful to him at the time of his father's execution.

When Arundel, with two servants, embarking at Lymington, was discovered, arrested, and escorted under a "strong guard towards London by Sir George Carey, son and Heire to the Lord Hunsden," he was "lodged at Guildford in Surrey. . . . The day following he was carried to London, and there committed Prisoner to the Tower, upon the 25th of April 1585 . . ."³ (15th, *Silo Antiquo*). His brother Lord William and sister Lady Margaret were also arrested, "which when he understood was far more grief to him than . . . all his own trouble and imprisonment."

To understand what he had meant by protesting that he was driven out of England by the laws, and especially by the "new Act," we must note the Statutes:⁴

13th Eliz. (1571) "All that obtain . . . any Bull of Absolution or Reconciliation from the Church of Rome, or Absolve, or be Absolved thereby, both they, and their Accesaries before the Fact, shall be adjudged Guilty of High Treason to the Queen and the Realm."⁵

23rd Eliz. (1581) (1) ". . . it is High Treason to have, or pretend to have power, or to put in practice, to Absolve, Perswade, or withdraw any Person within the Queen's Dominions, from their natural Obedience to the Queen and her Successors, or to withdraw them for the intent from the Religion now Established to the Romish Religion; and they also, who shall be so withdrawn willingly, together with their Procurers and Counsellors shall be guilty of the same Offence."

¹ 20 Jan. 1571. Harl: 787. 104. ff. 112-113. In extenso Wright's *Queen Eliz.* 1838. Vol. I. pp. 402-412. See E.E. vol. II. p. 135. II. 1. 7.

² "28 of January 1571." Harl: 787. 105. ff. 116-118b.

³ "Life," etc. p. 55-56.

⁴ "An Abstract of all the Penal Laws Now in Force against Jesuites, Priests, and Popish Recusants . . . London. Printed for John Starkey at the Mitre in Fleet-street, MDCLXXXII." pp. 5-6.

⁵ This was passed in consequence of Pope Pius's Bull of 1569-70. See E.E. vol. II. pp. 43-48.

(2) Their Aiders and Maintainers, who discover [i.e. reveal] them not within Ten days to some Justice of the Peace, or higher Officer, shall be adjudged guilty of Misprison of Treason.

(3) None shall Say or Sing Mass on pain of Two hundred marks, and suffer one years imprisonment, and not be Enlarged till the fine be paid. And none shall hear Mass on pain of a years imprisonment, and an hundred Marks.

(4) There shall be a third part of these Forfeitures to the Queen, a Third part to the Poor of the Parish where the Offence is committed, and a Third part to the Prosecutor.¹

27 Eliz. (1585) (The "new Act" aforesaid). (1) "By this Statute all Jesuits, Seminary Priests, or any Ecclesiastical persons born within the Queens Dominions, and Ordained or made such, by the pretended Jurisdiction of the See of Rome, which come into or remain in any of the said Queen's Dominions, shall be adjudged Guilty of High Treason, and their Receivers, Aiders, and Maintainers (knowing them to be such) shall be adjudged Felons, without benefit of Clergy."

(2) "All others brought up in Seminaries beyond Sea, and not as yet in Orders as aforesaid, which do not within six months after Proclamation made in London (in that behalf) return into this Realm; and within two days after their Returns, before the Bishop of the Diocess, or Two Justices of the Peace of the County where they arrive, submit themselves to the Queen and her Laws and Take the Oath of Supremacy, they shall be adjudged guilty of High Treason."

(6) "He that knows a Jesuit or Priest to remain within any the Queens Dominions, and doth not within Twelve Days discover the same to some Justice of the Peace shall be Fined and suffer Imprisonment during pleasure"

In relation to these stern laws, Arundel's defence of himself was adversely summarised by the Attorney General Popham in the Star Chamber.² But Arundel's earliest Catholic biographer describes the interrogation in the Tower by Privy Councillors; and far from being harsh, they gave the young peer every chance to send reassurances to the Queen. Vice-Chamberlain Hatton "out of good will" lingered after the others and urged the prisoner "as he loved his life" not to deny what was already known; as any equivocation would bring more danger upon him than all his friends could overcome.

"Thereupon the Earl after many thanks for his great love and friendly counsel, declared plainly everything as it was, and the cause why he had sent to Dr. Allen; clearing his brother the Lord William in all things, saving only his attempt to have gone over with him [to France]

"The next time that the Council came to examine him, they often asked and earnestly what he would have done beyond seas: his answer was, He could have served in any place that Dr. Allen had judged fit for him, so that it would have been for the Catholic cause. They asked again if he would have done anything against the Queen or the state of this Realm upon Dr. Allen's persuasions. He said that no, not for the world."

But the two assertions seemed incompatible; for it was Dr. Allen who in 1568, the year before the Northern rising, had founded at Douai the "seminaries" mentioned in the "New Act." As Canon of Cambrai and Professor of Divinity, in 1571, Dr. Allen had received 200 crowns per annum from the King of Spain.

¹ This last, making it to the interest of servants to inform against their masters, was a clause especially productive of trouble to the Recusants.

² 17th May, 1585. *In extenso Catholic R.S.* (1919) Vol. 21. Regarding editorial commentaries as to Walsingham being "bloodthirsty" and swayed by "blind prejudice" against Arundel: Walsingham had himself been obliged to fly from England in Queen Mary's day, and in Queen Elizabeth's time he had seen the Paris Massacre (1572). But far from making Arundel a vicarious sacrifice, he treated him gently. The editor refers to 1585 as a year of Terror for Catholics in England. Plots against Queen Elizabeth are dismissed as illusory,—only one being regarded as "genuine" in 44½ years, and that one nourished by her "government." But this is to overlook the voluminous details of a succession of plots furnished to Spain by the plotters themselves; and to forget the wording of Pope Pius's *Sententia Declaratoria*. (See E.E. II. 1-3, Vol. II. pp. 43-48.)

During Arundel's examination at the Tower “they demanded then if the title of Duke of Norfolk had ever been offered to him, or if Dr. Allen had ever written to him by that title. He answered, never . . .”

“They asked what cause moved him to write to Dr. Allen: He answered that upon Master Bridges his speeches, who told him that the Earl of Leicester had vowed to make the name of Catholic as odious in England as the name of a Turk, and therefore wished him to write to Dr. Allen that if some means might be found how to deal with that Earl, *or that he might be taken away by some lawful means, it would be a great good for the Catholic cause, and a great safety to all Catholics in England . . .*”¹

It was not Leicester who was making “the name of a Catholic” odious in England, but a few English Catholics on the Continent who, through the so-called “*Leter wryten by a Master of Arte at Cambrige*,” and the French version of the same, “*La Vie Abominable*,” were doing their utmost to make the name of Leicester odious all over the civilised world.

On the 11th of May, the French Ambassador De Castelnau, writing to the King of France of the Queen's displeasure against the “*Sieur Conte d'Arondel*” and her remarks to those around her that he “*ought to have loved his Queen and Country above all things*,”—adds “*le Conte de Lecestre . . . supplie très humblement V. M. de la tant honorer que ces villaines livres fetz contre luy et publiez en France et vendrez a Paris soint supprimez et deffenduz. . . .*”²

On the 1st of June (n.s.) Don Bernardino de Mendoza from Paris wrote to King Philip,

“The Ambassador here, Stafford, has by the Queen's orders been bringing great pressure to bear upon the King to *prohibit the sale of certain books which have been translated into French, about the lives of the Queen and the Earl of Leicester, and to order the arrest of the translator who is an Englishman.*”³

It was unfortunate for Lord Arundel that his declaration of Catholicism, and his attempt to reach France, came just when Thomas Fitzherbert, Charles Arundel, and other English Catholics had been circulating in French this vehement attack upon Queen Elizabeth and Leicester. In consequence of this libel it became more and more difficult for the Queen to believe in expressions of devotion to her person from any Catholic.

Despite the effort of the English Ambassador in Paris, to procure in June 1585 “*the arrest of the translator who is an Englishman*,” the identity of that Englishman does not appear until over nine weeks later, when from Rouen, 11th August 1585,

¹ “*The Life and Death*,” etcetera. Of Father Bridges or Gratley we shall hear again, in connection with the projected Spanish invasion.

² MS. Bib: du Roi, Paris 9513. Francis Earl of Bridgewater, “*Life of Thomas Egerton . . . Lord Ellesmere, Lord Chancellor*,” p. 215.

³ Paris Archives, K. 1563. 72. Cal: S.P. Spanish, Vol. III, p. 538. The editor added “Doubtless ‘Leicester's Commonwealth’ by Father Parsons the Jesuit.” But “*La Vie Abominable du Comte de Leycestre*” was not called “*Leicester's Commonwealth*” until reprinted in 1641. The editor of “*The English Martyrs*,” Vol. II. p. 112 (1919) also refers to “The book widely known as *Leicester's Commonwealth*.”

Thomas Rogers, a spy, wrote Walsingham a long letter in invisible ink, describing the activities of the English favourers of Spain, or as he calls them "all the papistry here at Parrys."

Explaining how by means of a token he had insinuated himself into the confidence of Thomas Fitzherbert, he states that through Fitzherbert he can gain access to them all, except Charles Paget. "They are divided in factions" (which he describes):

"and this hath Thomas Fytzherberd ymparted to me in great secrette uppon the [fayth] of the 3 Cyphers which I shewed hym. I do understand also by him that Thomas Throgmorton goeth very shortly into Spayne

Fytz Harberd is likely to know these matters for that he is secretary to all the persons above said of our Nation, and of the Jesuys partie (as he is) he hath uppon great trust offered me a chamber in his house at Parys." Rogers fears it will be expensive; but thinks it "most necessary" to buy a bed there, "by reason that he doth both gyve intelligence to all places and Receive the like from them agayne, and his house is also the place of Common Conference and Confe[de]racy, and the lodging of Charles Arundell when he is at Parys. *If I be lodged there, I must lodge emongest a great number of libells in Frenche that were wrytten agaynst the Right Honorable the Eyle of leicester.*"¹

If we can scan the "libell," "*La Vie Abominable*," from end to end, we will marvel at the short-sightedness of Fitzherbert and Charles Arundel in failing to foresee how such methods would recoil upon those who employed them.

On the 18th of June (8th o.s.) 1585, Don Bernardino de Mendoza from Paris, when informing King Philip of the English "Act of Parliament ordering all priests to leave the country within forty days," reported also the arrests of the Earl of Arundel and of the "Lord Harry his uncle." He seems to have had scant acquaintance with Arundel; but Lord Henry he knew well, having for several years been in the habit of rewarding him *sub rosa* for secret information as to the Queen's affairs.²

Though Arundel refers often and indignantly to his enemies at the Court, he never mentions who they were; But according to his first biographer, he was accused, by someone (unnamed), soon after his arrest, of being responsible for "a Letter that contained great danger both to the Queen and State."

"To which he answered most truly that he never heard nor knew of any such Whereupon they showed him one of three sides of paper at the least, but would not suffer him to read more of it than the first two lines which were these: 'Sir this letter containeth such matter as is fitter for the fire to consume than to be laid up in your study.' In it was written (as partly he then perceived) that though he went away poorly he should return in glory, and land in Norfolk with great power of Men to trouble both the Queen and State. It was written in a hand resembling his very much, unto Mr. William Dix his principal officer

The Council told him he should be arraigned about that letter To which he answered that he 'desired their Lordships to become humble suitors to the Queen on his behalf that he might not be called in question for his life for that of which he was never guilty; but as *innocent from that and all kind of treason as the child now newly born.*'

¹ Calendared but not verbatim. Now taken from orig: S.P.D.E. Addenda XXIX, 39, f.72. The secret information is added to a formal letter, directed to the Principal Secretary, and marked "These wth Spede." Letter is endorsed with abstract in hand resembling that of Phelippe the spy.

² Cal: S.P.S. III. 1580-86. Lord Arundel is there called "brother of the Duke of Norfolk," which is what his uncle Lord Henry was.

This letter doubtless was forged by some of his enemies who intended to have thereby procured his Death and Destruction

But as there were "things contained in it which showed that the writer had in truth small knowledge or acquaintance with the Earl's affairs," it was never mentioned at the enquiry in the Star Chamber "where all that could be alleged against him was manifested. . . ."¹

His biographer thinks the letter was brought forward by Sir Francis Walsingham. Actually Walsingham rejected some of the alleged evidence, and wrote to Hatton,

"Sir, I have perused the examination it hath pleased you to take of D, and finding by your report of the man that he is but simple, and that last year he was somewhat distracted of his wit, I see no cause but upon bond of good behaviour he may be set at liberty. And so I commit you to God, at Barn Elms the 28th of April 1585. Your most assured friend

FR. WALSINGHAM."²

A servant of Vice Chamberlain Hatton, "D"—Henry Dunn—was in secret "a strong Catholic"; and subsequently joined Anthony Babington's plot for the liberation of Queen Mary of Scots and dethronement of Queen Elizabeth.³ The following day, from Barn Elms, Walsingham wrote again to Hatton:⁴

"Sir, I return unto you D's examination. It were hard (though it might be sufficiently proved) that the Earl's reconciliation should be urged against him, *being rather a matter of conscience than of State.*

And seeing her Majesty hath heretofore (in point of conscience) dealt graciously towards Jesuits and Seminaries, men of worse desert, it would be ill thought of that one of the Earl's quality should receive harder measure than those that are reputed the poisoners of the State"

("Gracious" is hardly the word we would now apply to Queen Elizabeth's dealings with the Jesuits!)

In consequence of further information, Walsingham (1st May, 1585,) began to suspect that Arundel "receiveth some comfort, and that not from mean persons, that putteth him in this courage. No man is of his nature more fearful."

In 1585 his courage was not yet proved; and his tendency to be influenced from the outside had appeared in his hasty acceptance of the idea of Father Bridges that Leicester meant to make the name of Catholic in England as "odious as that of Turk."⁵

¹ *Life*, etc. pp. 57-63.

² B.M. Add. MS. 15891. f. 154^b. Sir H. Nicolas's "Life of . . . Sir Christopher Hatton"

³ Don Bernardino de Mendoza, 6 Sep: 1586, from Paris to K. Philip II. Cal: S.P. Spanish, III. p. 618.

⁴ Add MS. 15891, f. 153^b. Nicolas's "Life of . . . Sir Christopher Hatton," p. 409.

⁵ Father Weston (alias Edmonds) who reconciled Arundel to the Catholic Church, "a very virtuous and religious priest of the Society of Jesus," wrote, late in life, retrospective Memoirs (MS. at Blair College, Aberdeen; c. C.R.S. "English Martyrs," (1919) Vol. II. pp. 340-341):

"Sometimes in London," he states, "it was reported . . . as a fact that the Queen's Council had decreed the suppression and massacre of all Catholics in their houses on such and such a night. Many persons would then abandon their houses and lodgings and spend the night in the fields: others hired boats on the Thames and floated up and down the river."

The editor in 1919 refers to this as a "vivid contemporary picture of 'the Terror' before which the Earl [of Arundel] fled in 1585." But the Council never contemplated massacres; and Arundel's own words imply less dread of general danger than of some hostility peculiarly against himself. See his reiterated references to personal enemies.

Arundel's reiterated statement that he had to fly from England not only for conscience sake but to save his life, may have been Walsingham's reason for ascribing to him a tendency to "fear"; but the same word is used also by his 17th century ecclesiastical biographer.

So long as Walsingham only knew as much as was revealed in Arundel's letter to the Queen, he had been indulgent. But on discovery that Arundel was in correspondence with Dr. Allen, the case was altered. In Allen's "*Apologie*," 1581, "the Q. Majestie" had been approached with deference: "*We would not in any wise oppose ourselves to publike authority, or give occasion of further offence:*" "*The honour and respect of your Princely state move us in all loyal humility to warne your Majesty;*" and "*We are not acquainted with any conspiracie against our Prince and Countrie.*"¹ And even in 1585 the time had not yet come when he was to denounce her as "*infamous, depraved, accursed, the very shame of her sex, a filthy, wicked, and illiberal creature.*"² But since 1579, when he became Rector of the English College in Rome, he (with Father Parsons) had been working openly for the restoration of the Pope's authority in England.

Arundel had been captured leaving England for France. And what was the state of France? When he joined the Church of Rome, what was happening at Rome? Walsingham answers,

"The force of the Guisans increases, and so much the more for that he" [Guise] "daily getteth into his hands the King's treasure Few or none are willing to serve the King but those he dare not use."

Cardinal Montalto, sometime a greyfriar, by favour of the Spanish faction is elected Pope: a man most furiously bent against those of the Religion."

Each side used the word "Religion" to denote its own Church exclusively. Cardinal Montalto was the famous Pope Sixtus V. His encouragement to Philip of Spain to conquer England can be studied in the correspondence between him and the King.³

"*There lacketh now to bring our danger to the height*" writes Walsingham, ". . . . only the King of Spain's full possession of the Low Countries, which in the course we hold will within a few days come to pass"

His reference is to the Queen's delay in sending reinforcements to Antwerp, besieged by the Prince of Parma. Though Arundel seems scarcely to have considered the European situation, his letter "From the Tower the 7 of May, 1585", to Sir Christopher Hatton, shows he felt more need to explain his

¹ "An *Apologie and True Declaration of the Institution and Endeavours of the Two English Colleges, the one in Rome the other now in Rhemes, against Certaine Sinister Informations given against the same.*" Henault, 1581. (B.M. 1019, g.4).

² "The *Admonition*" etc. 1588, as quoted in Heywood's Introd: to Chetham Soc: Vol. 25 (1851) reprint of "Dr. Allen's Defence," etc. In the British Museum copy of "The *Admonition*" (G. 60. 67) this denunciation is differently worded.

³ E.E. Vol. VII.

attempted departure and his having written to Dr. Allen. Hatton had been commended to him by his dying father as a "marveylous constant friend."¹

"I pray [you] pardon me good Mr Vice Chamberlain that I sent not this letter yesternight," wrote Arundel. "The cause of my stay was because I know I have greatly offended Her Majesty, and therefore am desirous for as full a satisfaction as lieth in me to make, truly of myself to confess the sum of my offence. Wherefore I staid this morning to see if I could any way call to mind anything that yesternight I had forgotten. That I have been both confessed and absolved I cannot deny: but, I protest, led unto it merely by conscience, without intending either to offend her Majesty or her estate.

My sending to Dr. Allen I have already acknowledged. Two things only I am now to add. The first that I offered to be at his direction: and in this I must needs confess I offended her Majesty. And I protest afore God, was so sorry for it after, myself, as when the messenger who should have carried it, had not opportunity at the first to go over, I desired that it might be burnt: and what is done with it I know not; but Brydges told me it was burnt.

Now having in these points laid open fully and thoroughly wherein I have offended her Majesty, I protest afore God, so far as I can call to remembrance, that never I was privy to any plot or practice laid or made against her Majesty on her state: and if it can be proved that I was made privy either to any former plot or any new practice, I desire no favour.²

Otherwise I hope so much in the goodness and mercy of her Majesty, as she will take some pity and compassion upon me. I confess I was slipping, but not fallen.

I call God to witness she hath raised many that have slipped more, and therefore I cannot despair but that she can raise me, so I doubt not but that my deserts towards her shall be such as her Majesty shall well find that I desire to be thankful, and that I strive by all means to make satisfaction for my offence.

And thus laying myself at the feet of her Majesty's mercy, and commanding my cause to your favour, I cease further to trouble you

Your most faithfully and assuredly for ever,

ARUNDEL.³

Had there not been war in the Low Countries, had the Emperor Charles V and King Philip in turn never proclaimed their immutable resolve to root up all heresy, had the Prince of Orange not been stricken to death by an assassin, had no conspiracies against Queen Elizabeth been detected, nor the Spanish Ambassador

¹ Harl: MS. 789, 105, ff. 115-115^b. In 1851 T. Heywood, F.S.A., editing a political tract of Dr. Allen, stated that Hatton had "strong Roman Catholic tendencies"; adding that his character remains an "enigma." But Heywood took his ideas not from Hatton's own letters but from an article on Cardinal Allen, in which Hatton is "said to be 'in credit and special favour at Rome.'" (Introd: to "Cardinal Allen's Defence" etc. etc. p. LXVI, Chetham Society, Vol. XXV, quoting *Biog: Brit:* No date or page). Heywood adds that "the authority adduced, *Leycester's Commonwealth*, only affirms that the imputation was fastened on Hatton by *Leycester*" No such "imputation" ever was made by Leicester. The idea that Hatton was a Catholic perhaps arose from the words of a Puritan fanatic. Peter Byrchet, who on 11 Oct: 1573 attempted to assassinate him on the ground that he was a "wilful papist, and hindereth the glory of God so much as in him lieth" etc. (Nicolas, "Life . . . of Sir Christopher Hatton," p. 31.). But Byrchet knew so little about Hatton as to attack and wound John Hawkins instead. If the Queen could have been persuaded to believe Hatton a Catholic, he would have lost his position at Court; which was what his enemies hoped. "A Copie of a lettre addressed from Antwerp the XXVI of June to Mr. Hatton and delivered unto him at Spaw the 3 of Iulie 1573" has been republished by B. M. Ward, "Review of English Studies," Vol. IV. No. 13, Jan: 1928, p. 9. Found by Ward in Lambeth Palace bound with "A Treatise of Treasons" (XXX. 8. 16(4)), this appears to have been part of the same effort to turn the Queen against her Privy Councillors. The endeavour failed utterly; and the "Treatise of Treasons" was denounced by Royal Proclamation, Sep: 1573.

² If he had known of any such plot at the time, and had not revealed it, this would have been High Treason; penalty, death.

³ B.M. Add. MS. 15891, f.148^b. (Nicolas, "Life of . . . Sir Christopher Hatton," p. 427).

by his plotting earned her sentence of expulsion in 1583-4, Arundel's apology in 1585 might have sufficed. But when the Queen was "arming by sea and land", for the Premier Earl to propose to leave her kingdom, was equivalent in her eyes to a confession of antagonism. Not until the 19th century could any Englishmen read Mendoza's advice to his Sovereign, as to it being "*highly necessary for your Majesty to gain over the House of Howard, which is the richest in kinsmen and followers in the north of England*".¹ It was on the 6th March, 1582, that the Spanish Ambassador had written thus:

"The head of the house is the Earl of Arundel, son of the Duke of Norfolk, and he has two brothers; the three being married to three sisters, daughters of a great gentleman in the north, with whom their father linked them long before they were of an age to marry, in order to secure the devotion of the whole north country to his house. *These three boys are very young still, but they have an uncle, a person of great valour and spirit, of whom I wrote to your Majesty on the 25th of December.*"

"*He completely rules his nephews, and constantly keeps before them the need of resenting the death of their father, and following the party of the Queen of Scots, by whose means alone they can hope for vengeance. Leicester and Huntingdon, fearing this, have tried very hard to separate the uncle and nephews. . . .*"

Lord Henry, however, remains "in close connection with all the Catholic gentlemen in the Kingdom, by whom he is greatly esteemed for the influence he has through his nephew, as well as for his own good parts. *For this reason I have kept up a close intimacy with him, but still more in order to obtain from him news of everything that passes at Court. In this way he serves your Majesty with greater intelligence and care than I can well say, his information being prompt and valuable, not a point ever being missed, as he writes to me twice every week, minute details of all that passes touching France, Flanders, Scotland and Don Antonio. He also lets me know everything that happens inside the palace, which he is well able to do.*"

Nevertheless Don Bernardino felt that Lord Henry was playing chiefly for his own hand:

"*I am of opinion that it will be highly desirable for your Majesty to secure him at once, in order that he may not be persuaded to take the French side. The way will be for your Majesty to give him a pension commensurate to his rank, which should be paid quarterly.*

"*Two ends will be gained by this, first we shall have won over the important house of Howard, and secondly we shall have secured his personal co-operation. That is so valuable that if he were a person to whom I could offer money without your Majesty's orders, I should give him many ducats every year in return for the information with which he furnishes me, and which I should have to purchase from others for more than its weight in gold. . . .*"

Mendoza repeats that the King must "*prevent the Howards at any cost from turning towards France*"; and that he has "*held out hopes*" to Lord Henry; and is trying to prevent Leicester and Walsingham from getting him sent on an embassy abroad. "*I can assure your Majesty that without his communications, any minister*

¹ Cal: S.P.S. (Simancas), Vol. III. pp. 313-316. Though chronologically the ensuing transactions belong to Vol. IV of "*Elizabethan England*", it was best not then to interrupt the sequence of the Hispano-Portuguese war; but to reserve these secret dealings until their results were to be shown.

*of yours here will be kept quite in the dark, as no one else will be able to do what this man does.*¹

On the 1st April 1582, Mendoza described to King Philip his difficulties with the Privy Council:

"They are so tempestuous with me, that although I have used every artifice to get on good terms with some of them, they all turn their faces from me, and *particularly the Treasurer* . . . My hands are thus tied, as I can only get personal conference by extraordinary means, and their dislike to me has reached such a point that when I send to Walsingham, . . . they keep my servant there from morning to night, without even reporting his presence to Walsingham, and he can therefore only address him when he comes out in public. This, and the fact that all my business is looked upon askance at Court, has made my first confidant" [Sir James Crofts:] "so suspicious that he hardly dares to speak . . . to the persons through whom he was in the habit of communicating with me. If I had not got intimate acquaintance with the second personage" [i.e. Lord Henry Howard] "who is more vigilant than I can well express, . . . I should not be able to hear anything . . ."²

(In the face of Mendoza's statement that Burghley, the Lord Treasurer, gave him the most trouble, it is the more perplexing why the idea that Burghley was pro-Spanish still persists in our schools.)

And on the 26th of April, 1582, Mendoza wrote again,

"Lord Harry continues to give me information with great vigilance and care, and keeps me well posted as to what is going on. This forces me again to press upon your Majesty the importance of rewarding him, and at the same time pledging his house, by favouring him in the way I have suggested. In order not on any account to lose him, I have prevailed upon him to refuse the embassy to Germany."³

Three weeks later, Mendoza reiterated from London,

"Lord Harry continues to serve with his usual care and intelligence. I understand that we cannot give him less than 1,000 or 1,200 crowns a year, which will only last for two or three years; whereas if your Majesty makes him a present, you could not give him less than three times that sum. If he gets the 1,200 crowns in two half yearly payments from me, it will have double the effect of encouraging him, and will pledge his house; and if he slackens or things change, the payments can be stopped. I am entertaining him, and have persuaded him to refuse to go on a mission abroad."⁴

From Lisbon on the 20th of May, 1582, King Philip wrote to his Ambassador in London, as to what had better be done for Lord Harry;

"if it be necessary to pledge him at once before replies can be received, you may pay him the sum you think advisable, out of the money now sent to you." A letter of credit for 3000 crowns is enclosed.⁵

On the 25th June, 1582, Mendoza told the King of his keeping Lord Henry entertained with hopes and fair words:

"The Queen has again pressed him to go to the German Diet; and it has been necessary for me to pledge him as your Majesty commands me to do in

¹ Cal: S.P.S. III. (1896) pp. 313-316.

² Cal: pp. 324-325. ³ Cal: S.P.S. III. p. 352.

⁴ 15 May, 1582. Ib: p. 364. ⁵ Ib: 375.

case of need. *I have therefore given him 500 crowns, promising him a pension of 1000 crowns a year, and have induced him in this way to continue in your Majesty's service, and not to go to the Diet He has esteemed the favour very highly, and assures me that not only he himself but all his house hope in God to be able to render service to Your Majesty. His parts and behaviour are such that I doubt not great results will be attained*¹

King Philip was determined to have value for his money; so while commanding Mendoza's promptitude in securing Lord Henry at a price of 1000 crowns a year, he added, "it is understood [this] will only be paid him whilst he gives satisfaction and not otherwise. He will thus be careful to please."²

On the 1st November the same year, Mendoza impressed anew upon his King the utility of Lord Henry. His other pensioner, Sir James Crofts, (Leicester's especial enemy,) had given him no help for the last eight months; and he would even have lost Lord Henry, had he not

"cast myself at his feet, and begged him not to leave the Court; and given him 500 crowns, with a promise of 1000 crowns a year pension: which he accepted, although he said that when I went away he could not well correspond with anyone else, and must relinquish the pension I assure your Majesty that he is extremely zealous, and gives me twice a week the most confidential and minute account of all that happens"

Whereas Lord Henry Howard, though suspected in 1581, and again in 1585, regained the Queen's favour, his nephew suffered ten years imprisonment, and much grief. Lord Henry, the actual double-dealer, evaded detection; and was to gain a new Earldom under James I, and survive into old age, in circumstances we will in due course see.³ It was to prevent Arundel from influencing the rest of the nobility to be reconciled to Rome,—which meant also to Spain,—that he was kept in prison. That he, who had little or no political motive, was the scapegoat, and that his uncle, the actual conspirator with Spain, was more and more trusted by the Queen, is one of those ironies of character and circumstance which, if presented on the stage, would be called "Shakespearian." This will be fully realised after we have considered the careers of both these Howards up to the end.

¹ Ib: 391. ² Paris Arch: K. 1447. 174. Ib: p. 403.

³ The sorrows of Lord Arundel, and his trial in 1589, will be treated under date. During the intervening years, we should remember him as captive in the Tower of London, where his father, grandfather, and great-grandfather had all been prisoners before him, all on the charge of High Treason. Although Mendoza believed he would join a rising on behalf of the Queen of Scots, this assurance seems to have rested only on Lord Henry's word. Unless we find direct evidence under Arundel's own hand, his denials to the Queen should be accepted.

APPENDIX.

AN ITALIAN PHILOSOPHER IN ENGLAND: 1583-85.

When King Philip's godson Philip Earl of Arundel was planning to escape abroad and "practise the Catholic Religion," one of King Philip's Neapolitan subjects, living in London, had lately dedicated "*Spaccio De La Bestia Trionfante*" to King Philip's other godson, "molto illustre et eccellente Caualliero Philippo Sideneo."¹

It was ultimately to be brought against Bruno in Rome that he had inscribed this work to a heretic. But when in 1584 he held forth upon the errors and follies of the age, he did not foresee that he could be supposed to have intended the Pope as "*La Bestia Trionfante*."

During his interrogation by the Inquisitors he stated (as to his books) that "*all those which set forth on the title-page that they were printed at Venice were really printed at London. The printer wished it to appear that they were printed at Venice to secure a better sale, and get them abroad better; for if it had been indicated that they were printed in England their sale would have been more difficult. They were all printed in England, although they bear the mark of Paris and elsewhere.*"²

There is reason to think that not only Bruno's works but others bearing foreign imprints were also issued from the presses of London: for example "*The Explanation*" of the "*Right and Title of . . . Anthony . . . King of Portugal*," 1585, and the "*Relaciones*" of Antonio Pérez, 1594.

Under the strict supervision of the Press by the Crown, it would not have been possible for any foreigner systematically to use a spurious imprint, unless favoured by a friend at Court. But that Sir Philip Sidney was one of Bruno's patrons is the more surprising, as Bruno's style is marred by faults which Sidney in his "*Defense of Poesie*" had condemned.

Poetic and exalted ideas and vehement vituperation, soaring philosophy and grotesque scenes of low life alternate. Though an impassioned sincerity was the dominant note of Bruno's character, it was not tempered by proportion or discretion; witness his manner of defining his aims and introducing himself to the University of Oxford. He, "a lover of God," he declared, was

"doctor in a more perfect divinity, Professor of a purer and more harmless wisdom, a philosopher known, esteemed, and honourably intreated by the foremost academicians of Europe, a stranger to none but churls and barbarians, the awakener of souls from slumber, the queller of presumptuous and recalcitrant ignorance, who sheweth in all his actions the love he beareth to all mankind, whether Briton or Italian, male or female, whether bearing the mitre or the

¹ "*Spaccio De La Bestia Trionfante, proposto de Gioue, Effettuato dal Conseguo, Revelato da Mercutio, Recitato da Sophia, Vdito da Saulino, Registrato dal Nolano. Diuiso in tre Dialogi, subdivisi in tre parti. Stampato in Parigi MDLXXXIII.*" B.M. C. 37. c. 15.

² Inquis: Rec: Doc: XI, trans: Boulting's "*Giordano Bruno*."

crown, the gown or the sword, wearing a cowl or without one, but who chiefly yearns for the man whose converse is peaceable, . . . true and profitable; . . .”¹

At Oxford, though he made friends, whom he praises, he accused some of the Dons of knowing “more about beer than about Greek;”² and “. . . search where you will in England to-day, you shall find everybody a Doctor in Graminar, . . . pedants who exhibit obstinacy, ignorance and presumption, mixed with such boorish rudeness that it might provoke the patience of Job.”³

Quarrelsome and excitable himself, Bruno did not like the same traits in others. As to the English populace, he works himself into a fury:

“England can boast a common people which will yield to none other in disrespect, outlandishness, boorishness, savagery, and bad bringing up.” Comparing them to “Arabs, Tartars and Cannibals,” he complains that if, in the street, “finding yourself in a fix, you repel one of them or put your hand on your sword, you shall . . . see them come surging out of their shops . . . rowdies,” who “fall on you with outlandish fury. . . . All this even if you be accompanied by some person of . . . quality, let him be Count or Duke, it shall be to his damage and not to your profit; for in a herd these folk are no respecters of rank. . . .”⁴

Bruno in London cannot have been accompanied by a Duke. The last English Duke, Thomas of Norfolk, had been executed on Tower Hill in 1572. Far from the people being “no respecters of rank,” they had listened to Norfolk’s last speech in silence, and witnessed his death with regret.⁵ And when the time came for Sir Philip Sidney’s funeral in 1586-7, many of the “common sorte” in the streets were to be in tears; so the London populace must not be judged by the quips of Bruno, who did not understand or speak English.

Sidney’s modern biographers all dispose casually of Bruno; and Bruno’s latest biographer repeats a former assertion that “The courtiers probably regarded” the philosopher “as an interesting oddity . . . and accepted him as London society of to-day accepts a philosopher from Tibet.”⁶ But the reproach against Elizabethan courtiers in their own time was not that they were lacking in attraction to Italy, but that they were too “Italianate.”

¹ “*Philothei Jordani Bruni Nolanii Expl: Triginta sigillorum . . . Ad Excellenissimum oxoniensis Academiae Procancellarium, clarissimos doctores.*”

Bruno’s biographer, William Boultong, translating this (pp. 82-83) and remarking that the address was likely to annoy by its self-assertion, adds, “But after all, the epistle only follows the pomposity of the age. . . . Even the most courtly and polished gentleman of his time, Sir Philip Sidney, when travelling to the Court of Rudolph II, had his arms emblazoned at whatever house he lodged at, with the announcement in Latin that they were those of ‘the most illustrious and well-born gentleman, Philip Sidney, son of the Viceroy of Ireland, nephew of the Earls of Warwick and Leicester. Ambassador for the most serene Queen of England.’”

The circumstances were entirely different. In 1577 Philip Sidney (not yet Sir Philip) was not travelling as a private person but as Ambassador from his Sovereign to the Emperor. In such capacity, to have his coat of arms displayed outside “whatever house he lodged at” was a custom as ordinary as it would be to-day for the arrival of a foreign Ambassador to be announced in the newspapers. Sidney was not vaunting his own philosophy and accomplishments, but stating his official position and connections. Bruno, of no official rank, was trumpeting his own genius.

² His biographer (p. 84) remarks that “less than a century before, the Oxford Hellenists, although but a small band, were distinguished by the presence of such scholars as Grocyn, Linacre, and Croke; and Erasmus found Greek better taught in England than in Italy . . .”

We may add that Bruno, had he gone to Cambridge, would have found a great “Grecian” in Hugh Broughton.

³ “*La Cena de le Ceneri.*” d. iv. Vide Boultong, p. 87.

⁴ *Cena* d. ii. Boultong, p. 104. ⁵ E.E. vol. II. p. 142.

⁶ J. A. Symonds, “*The Renaissance in Italy: Catholic Reaction,*” II. p. 55. Cit. Boultong, p. 95.

"Englishmen of quality," says Bruno, "know that their own tongue is confined to their own island, and would deem themselves savages could they not speak Latin, French, Spanish and Italian."¹

While Bruno's biographer quotes this tribute to the linguistic capacities of our ancestors, he inconsistently infers that "even the most distinguished of Elizabeth's courtiers were far from recognising the genius of the most distinguished Italian they had ever received. . . ." The only ground for this assertion is that Bacon in 1622 described Bruno as neither excellent nor successful.² But Bacon was not himself successful during the Elizabethan era, nor was he often then at the Court. And although, some nine years after Bruno's departure from England, Bacon wrote eloquently (in a private letter) of taking all knowledge for his province, Boulting's reference to Bruno as "like Bacon" is the more surprising because the two philosophers were unlike, in temper, style, disposition, and circumstances. Also, as Francis Bacon's first book, his *"Essays,"* was not published until twelve years after Bruno left England, and none of Bacon's philosophical writings were printed until after Bruno had been burnt at the stake in Rome, Bacon's remark on Bruno in 1622 is surely not the measure of the effect of Bruno upon Elizabethan courtiers in 1583-85.

Thomas Tenison in "*Baconiana: Or Certain Genuine Remains of Sr Francis Bacon, Baron of Verulam, and Viscount of St. Albans. . . . Now the First time faithfully published,*" London, 1679, classed Bruno among philosophers who "departed from some Errors of the ancients," but "only spun new Cobwebs, where they had brushed down the old."³

Whether this is fair could only be decided after a study of the whole works of Bruno. As the learned Inquisitors in Rome took eight years to examine them and discuss the nature of eight points of heresy gradually discovered therein, there are few theologians to-day who would have patience to spend another eight years to seek resemblances of Bruno to Bacon. Whatsoever Bruno's "new Cobwebs," he was to pay for them with his life; for though he pleaded he had not written theologically but philosophically, this was treated as evasion, heresy being adjudged as reprehensible under one name as another.

Rebuked by the Inquisitors for having praised Elizabeth, whose right to the throne of England Pope Pius V had denied, and for consorting with, commanding, and addressing books to heretics, Bruno replied that respect for reigning Sovereigns was required by courtesy; and that as to heretics, he valued their personal talents not because of but in spite of their heresy.

Sir Philip Sidney being the nephew of one of the "principal heretics" in England, it is to be noted that Bruno so whole-heartedly admired "that very illustrious and excellent Knight, whose acute intellect, not to speak of his renowned manners, is so rare that it were difficult to find his like outside Italy; or within it":⁴ a remarkable admission from an Italian whose earliest patron had been the same Pope who launched in 1569-70 the anathema against Queen Elizabeth. But as Sidney was not rich, we may wonder who paid for the publication of Bruno's

¹ "La Cena de le Ceneri." Boulting, p. 111. Eight years before Queen Elizabeth's accession, there had appeared the first Italian Grammar and Dictionary in English, "*Principal Rules of the Italian Grammar with a Dictionarie for the better understanding of Boccace, Petrarcha, and Dante, gathered into this tongue by Wiliam Thomas. Imprinted at London in Fleetstreet in the House of Thomas Berthelet. 1550.*" sm: 4to. B.L. and italics. Reprinted 1562, and 1567. See Note, E.E., p. 248.

² Boulting, p. 113. ³ Op. cit.; p. 5.

⁴ "La Cena de le Ceneri" (The Ash-Wednesday Supper, Dialogue ii) Dedicated "*All' unico refugio de le Muse l'ILLUSTRIS. Michel di Castelnoua, Sig: di Mauvissier,*" etc., etc. (B.M. C.37. c.14.2.)

works in England? That he got them into print is a conclusive answer to the modern idea that the "Courtiers" did not esteem him; for in Elizabethan England the Court was "the centre"; and Bruno's contrast between the imperfections of the Universities and the responsiveness of the courtiers, his angry scorn for shallow scholars, and his warm regard for Sidney, are significant. Impatient of slow or cumbersome minds, Bruno despised what he called "parrot-learning." It is indicative of the intellectual activity of the Elizabethan aristocracy that a foreigner, who could not understand, speak, or read English, found in England purchasers for eight of his prolix philosophical works.

If he had been a Protestant, his favourable reception might be thus explained; but although when he first fled across the Alps, he had cast off his Dominican habit, and in Geneva exchanged it for lay attire with a sword, he liked the stronghold of Calvinism so little that he soon left it for the Catholic Court of France. There the last of the Valois Kings, Henry III, had treated him with marked favour, accepted the dedication of his "*Shadows of Ideas*";¹ and gave him an Extraordinary Lectureship, with a salary.² When Bruno in 1583 decided to visit England, it was King Henry who provided him with a letter of recommendation to the Ambassador, Mauvissière de Castelnau, in London.

Though Bruno was King Philip's subject, he was not required by Queen Elizabeth to leave England when she dismissed the Spanish Ambassador in January, 1583-4. At Beaumont House, in Butcher's Row, off the Strand, he continued to live in peace under the protection of the French Ambassador: "*Illustrissimo Domino Michaeli A Castello noua, Domino Mauvisserio, equiti aurato, Inter nobiles domesticos regis uni, qui quaginta equitum grauis armaturae Capitano . . . legato Christianissimi regis apud serenissimam Angliae Reginam.*"³

Though this philosopher's views of womenkind exhibit a blend of early monastic aloofness with later illicit knowledge, he could respect dignity and nobility of nature when he met them. The Ambassador's wife he greatly admired, and the Ambassador's daughter won his unqualified praises: "hardly yet six years of age, she speaks Italian, French and English so equally well that no one can tell her nationality." And she could play "various instruments" so skilfully "that one wonders, whether she be of earth or . . . from the skies."⁴

In 1585 Bruno dedicated to Sir Philip Sidney his "*Gl' Heroica Furori*";⁵ and in October of the same year he left England in the train of the French Ambassador, shortly before Sidney embarked for the Low Countries.

Before coming into England, Bruno in France had dedicated to "Signora Morgana" (query, the Fata Morgana of fairy tradition?) a comedy exposing the mendacity and duplicity of crude types of both sexes. In presenting it, his reflections were different in tone from his attempts at worldly wisdom in the play itself: "Time gives all and takes all away," he

¹ "Iordanus Brunus Nolanus de Umbris Idearum. Implicantibus artem Quaerendi, Inueniendi, Iudicandi, Ordinandi et Applicandi: ad internam scripturam, et non vulgares per memoriam operationes explicatis. Ad Henricum III . . . Regem . . . Protestatio (Ars Memoriae Jordani Bruni) . . . Parisiis. Apud Aegidium Gorbinum 1582 cum privilegio." (8vo. B.M. 232.a.8.)

² Doc: viii, Inquis.: Boulting, p. 58.

³ Dedication of "Philothei Jordani Bruni Explicatio Triginitia Sigillorum," etc. B.M. C.37. b.17 (2).

⁴ "Causa," etc. (Trans: Boulting.)

⁵ "Giordano Bruno Nolanus. De Gl' Heroici Furori. Al molto illustre et eccellente Caualliero Signor Philippo Sidneo. Parigi, Appresso Antonio Baio. L'Anno 1585." (B.M. C.37 c.17(4). (4th tract in a volume of Bruni Tracto.) Dedication headed "Argomento del Nolano sopra gl'Heroici furori: Scritto al molto illustre Signor Philippo Sidneo."

exclaims: "everything changes, but nothing perishes; One only is immutable, eternal and ever endures. . . . With this philosophy, my spirit grows, my mind expands. Whereof, however obscure the night may be, I await daybreak;" and he promised himself the reward of his efforts "if not under one hood, then under another."¹

Afterwards, in Germany, he wrote as if with a premonition of his end:

"Whatsoever cruel fate shall await me, the struggle, begun far back in boyhood," will be maintained; "nor may death itself bear the smallest terror for me. . . ."²

And again: "I have fought: it is much. . . . Victory lies in the hands of Fate. Be that with me as it may, . . . future ages will not deny that I did not fear to die, was second to none in constancy, and preferred a spirited death to a craven life."³

His subsequent controversies and wanderings, his falling into the hands of the Inquisition in 1592, through the hostility of a Venetian who had affected a wish to be instructed by him; his transference to Rome; his defence of himself; his eight years in prison; and then the final sentence of death, all came to pass while Queen Elizabeth was still reigning. In February, 1600, the last scene of his career was thus briefly recorded in a newsletter from Rome:

"Yesterday morning in the Field of Flowers was burnt alive that wicked Dominican brother from Nola . . . a most obstinate heretic. . . . He said he died willingly and was a martyr, and that his soul would ascend in the smoke to Paradise."⁴

"The whilicig of Time brings in his revenges"; and in 1889 a statue was erected to Bruno on the site of his death; some of his eulogists advocating this memorial under the impression that he had been a "freethinker" in the modern sense of the word. But he had proclaimed himself "a lover of God"; and the freedom he claimed in his quest for universal knowledge bore no resemblance to the theories which in the 18th century were hailed as "the Dawn of Reason," or acclaimed in the 19th century as a triumph of Science over Superstition.⁵

¹ "Il Candelajo." Trans: Boultong, pp. 74-75.

² "De Monade, numero et figura," etc.: Cap: I, v. 38-45. Boultong, p. 236.

³ Ib: Cap.: vii, v. 128 seq. Boultong, p. 237.

⁴ "Libri D'Avvisi e di Ritorni." Berti, "Vita di Giordano Bruno." 1886. Cit. Boultong, p. 303.

⁵ Boultong states Bruno's works to have been put on the Index in 1603, but does not give references; and these works do not seem to be among those condemned or corrected in "Indicis Librorum Expurgandorum In studiosorum gratiam confecti Tomus primus, in quo quinquaginta Auctorum Libri prae Caeteris desiderati emendantur, Per F. Io. Mariam Brasichell. Sacri Palatij Apost. Magistrum in unum corpus redacto, et pub. commoditati aeditus. Romae primo: Deinde Bergami, Typis Comini Ventura 1808. Preface dated "Romae ex Palatio Apostolico anno salutis 1607." Vide "An exact reprint of the Roman Index Expurgatorius . . . edited with a preface" (85 pp.) "by Richard Gibbings . . . Dublin . . ." 1837, published to subscribers. Gibbings shows how Pope Leo X in 1515 issued a decree against "pernicious books," and arranged for licenses to be given in Rome and elsewhere for printing. In 1520 (xvi Kal. Julii) Pope Leo issued his Bull "Contra errores Martini Lutheri," directing that Luther's works be publicly burned. As Cardinals, Patriarchs, Archbishops, Bishops, were forbidden to read the books of heretics, it is the less surprising that Bruno's defence, that he read such works *only out of curiosity*, was not accepted.

WORKS OF GIORDANO BRUNO PUBLISHED IN LONDON, 1583-85.

In William Boulting's "*Giordano Bruno*," London, n.d., the full titles of Bruno's works are not always given, nor any British Museum reference numbers. The following Bibliographical Note (with B.M. numbers) has therefore now been compiled. The dates followed by an interrogation mark are those ascribed in B.M. Catalogue to the undated publications. Works starred * are those which B.M. Catalogue states to have been printed by John Charlewood. All the ensuing are in 8vo.

1. (1583?) "*Philothei Jordani Bruni Nolani Recens et Completa Ars Reminiscendi et in phantastico campo exarandi. Ad plurimas in triginta sigillis inquirendi, disponendi, atque reinendi implicitas nouas rationes et artes introductoryria.*" (C. 37. c. 17 (1).)

(No dedication. Begins with "*Intentio Auctoris de Arte.*")

2. (1583?) "*Philothei Jordani Bruni Nolani Explicatio Triginta sigillorum ad omnium scientiarum et artium inventionem, dispositionem et memoriam. Quibus adjectus est sigillus sigillorum, ad omnes animi operationes comparandas et earundem rationes habendas maxima conducens*" &c.

Dedicated to the French Ambassador in England: "*Illus: Dom: Michaeli A Castel nuovo, Domino Mauussiero.*" *Preface to Oxford University.* (C. 37. c. 17 (2).)

3. (1584) "*Giordano Bruno Nolano. De l'infinito universo et Mondi All' illustrissimo Signor di Mauussiero. Stampato in Venetia*** 1584. (C. 37. c. 16 (1).)

4. (1584) "*Spaccio de la Bestia Trionfante . . . Stampato in Parigi.*** 1584. (C. 37. c. 15.)
Dedicated to the most illustrious and excellent Knight, "*Signor Phillippe Sidneo.*"

5. (1584) "*Giordano Bruno Nolano. De la Causa, principio et Uno. A l'Illustrissimo Signor di Mauussiero. Venetia.*" 1584. (C. 37. c. 14 (1).)

6. (1584) "*La Cena de le Ceneri. Descritta in cinque dialogi, par quattro interlocutori, Contre considerationi, Circa doi suggetti*" &c., &c. (Anonymous) 1584.

Dedicated "*All' unico refugio de le Muse l'Illustriss. Michel di Castelnoua. Sig. di Mauussier*" &c. (C. 37. c. 14 (2).)

7. (1585) "*Cabala del Cavallo Pegaseo. Con l'aggiunta d'ell' Asino Cillenico. Descritta dal Nolano: dedicata al Vescouo di Casamarciano. Appresso Antonio Baio.*** Parigi. 1585. (C. 37. c. 16 (2).)

8. (1585) "*Giordano Bruno Nolano, De G'lHeroici Furori. Al molto illustre et eccellente Caualliero, Signor Phillippe Sidneo. Appresso Antonio Baio: Parigi.*** 1585. (C. 37. c. 17 (4). B.M. Cat. adds "or rather T. Vautrollier. London.")

NOTE on revisions desirable in the English matter in Mr. William Boultling's
 "GIORDANO BRUNO," London, n.d.

p. 95. "The two friends", Fulke Greville and Sir Philip Sidney, "were at this time, busy translating the Frenchman Philippe de Mornay, lord of Plessis-Marly" (i.e. translating "De la Vérité de la Religion Chrétienne.") But Greville's letter to Walsingham in 1586 about this work says nothing of any share of his own in the translation.

p. 95. "Greville . . . held more than one post with light duties and enormous salaries attached —about £2000 a year."

"Enormous salaries" were not the fashion at the English Court: £100 a year was the salary of Sir Francis Walsingham as Principal Secretary of State; and only £66. 15. 8. the annual wage of the Earl of Leicester as Master of the Horse.

p. 96. "Sidney was the English representative of Petrarchism."

Sidney in his sonnets expressed impatience of "Petrarch's long deceased woes", and emphatically protested that he was not influenced by that poet, but wrote to "ease a burdened heart."

p. 96. "He tumbled head over ears in love with Penelope Devereux when she was still a child."

Lady Penelope was 12 when Sidney first saw her: but he did not fall in love. Too late, about five years afterwards, he blamed himself for not having earlier realised what she would become in her maturity. See his own sonnet, E.E., ante, p. 67.

"Sexual fascination remained so divorced from matrimony in the sixteenth century that he continued to address verses of passionate devotion to her after she became Lady Rich (1581), with the full knowledge and consent of both his sister and the lady who was now his wife."

There was no lady "now his wife" in 1581. His future wife was then 12; or 13 at the outside (born in the autumn of 1568). For particulars, see ante, E.E. V, pp. 69-75, and pp. 87-88.

pp. 98-9. "One Smith, who became an interlocutor in the 'Ash Wednesday Supper.' The difficulty of identifying this particular bearer of the patronymic is enhanced by the absence of his Christian name. He may have been John Smith . . . or Joseph Smith . . . or William Smith."

As Albericus Gentilis is one of Bruno's personages speaking at the "Ash Wednesday Supper", and as Thomas Smith was the greatest friend of Gentilis ("my second self" Gentilis calls him subsequently in "De Jure Belli," when praising him also as an excellent Latinist), we may infer that Gentilis's Thomas Smith was Bruno's Smith. The supper is depicted as in Fulke Greville's house; and Fulke Greville was a cousin of Robert Earl of Essex, to whom Thomas Smith became secretary.

pp. 112 & 242. Two references to Bruno's admiration for our "English sea dogs" are given without quotation, as occurring in "De Immenso, Lib. I. and Lib. VI. xx". But there does not seem to be anything of the sort in Lib. VI. Ch. xx (which in B.M. copy is wrongly headed xix); and Lib. I. is so long that to read it through would be a heavy task. The edition in B.M. is "Jordani Bruni Nolani Opera Latine conscripta," edited by F. Fiorentino, 1879; No. 12226. f.12. and "De Immenso" is in Vol. I, Pts. i & ii.

Bruno's opinion of our "sea dogs" would be more interesting than Bruno on the follies of woman-kind; yet his diffuse and defamatory discourses on the latter well worn theme are quoted verbatim by his English biographer and the former not at all.

"THE COMMODITIES OF ITALYE"

(The works of William Thomas; various editions).

That Bruno found Englishmen well able to speak Italian was partly thanks to William Thomas, whose career had been cut short as the penalty for joining Wyatt's rising, but whose works lived after him. In King Edward's day he had been author of "*Principal Rules of the Italian Grammer, with a Dictionarie for the better understandyng of Boccace, Petrarcha, and Dante.*"¹

Thomas had also written the first English "*Hystorye of Itale*" in the vulgar tongue: "*A booke exceeding profitable to be redde: because it intreateth of the astate of many and dyvers common weales, how thei have ben and now be governed.*" Colophon, "*Imprinted at London in Flete Street in the house of Thomas Berthelet, 1549.*"²

Philip Sidney probably knew this History, though published before he was born; for it was dedicated to his grandfather, "the right honourable and mine especiall good lord, John Earl of Warrewick, Visconte Lisle, knight of the most noble order of the Garter, lorde great chamberlaine, and highe admiral of Englande," subsequently Duke of Northumberland.

Thomas wished "to publish unto our owne nacion" "the doynges of straungers" and to show "upon what little beginning great astates have risen," and how those who "by using their autorities rule well and prudently, have merited immortal fame of honour and praise": whereas by "tyrannie and ill governaunce," the other sort earn only eternal shame. "It encourageth the virtuouse men, by the exampules that they reade, to encrease in vertue and nobilitiess:" and sheweth "how naughtie doinges have most commonlye naughtie endyng."

History "sheweth how mutable fortune is, and how that whyche hath been gotten with extreeme pencies, unmeasurable expenses, and unreasonable effusion of bloudie, hathe ben lost in a moment: and that commonly he that hathe conquered most in warre, at best is but a loser."

No shadow of coming events can have brooded over Thomas when in those ominous words he offered his History to the peer who was then second in power only to the Protector Duke of Somerset, but who within a few years was to perish on the scaffold.

¹ "gathered into this Tongue by William Thomas: Newly corrected and imprinted. Londini, an. M.D.LXII" B.M.12941. b. 29, and edition. The first edition in B.M.: 129441. b. 30, lacks preface and title page. There was a 3rd edition, "In cedibus H. Wykes," B.M. 72. a. 13; repeating the original dedication "To my Verie good friende Maister Tamworth. At Venice." "From Padoa the thirde of Februario 1458." On verso of title page is the following explanation:

"After that William Thomas had been aboue three yeres in Italy, it happened John Tamworth Gentlemen to arrive there, who being desirous to learne the tongue, interested the said William Thomas to draw him out in Englishe some of the principall rules, . . . and . . . to translate the wordes, that Acharisius and Pietro Alumno had collected . . . out of certaine the best auctours in that tongue. Which was doen, and sent unto him from Padoa to Venice . . . And about two yeres after, maister Tamworth lent this book written to Sir Walter Mildmaie Knight, who thinking it a necessary thing for all suche of our nacion, as are studious in that tongue caused it thus to be put into printe for their commoditie."

This most likely means that the printer's bill was paid by Mildmay, who was subsequently founder of Emmanuel College in 1584. See E.E., V, p. 193, n.2.

The first edition had been printed "At London in Flete strete in the House of Thomas Berthelet." The work is in 2 parts, the 2nd being "*A Dictionarie taken out of two bookees in Italian, called Acharisius and Ricchezze della lingua volgare, for the better understanding of the notable Aucthours in that tongue.*"

² Preface dated "at London the xx daye of September. 1549," signed "Wyllam Thomas."

For the lessons History teaches,

"*I wysh all noble men to reade it, to the ende they may hereof tak occasion so honourablye to spend their life tyme, that after their death, they may shyne in fame for ever.*

" And knowing your lordship for your excellent feates of chivalrie, bothe by sea and lande, to be suche a one as is hable to judge, . . . like as your wonderful knowledge in civile orders hathe made you worthy to be no lesse esteemed excellent in counsayle, than you have ben tried a most valiaunte captayne in the warres, I therefore coulde finde none to whom I might so woorthilye dedycate my little trauaile, . . . the gifte of him that wisheth you all health and honour"

Executed by Queen Mary for conspiracy and rebellion,¹ the attainer was reversed by Queen Elizabeth: and the Italian History was re-issued in 1561, with the dedication repeated.²

Thomas described from personal observation Rome, Venice, Naples, Florence, Genoa, Milan ("Millayne"), Mantua, Ferrara, Placentia and Parma, also Urbino. He praised the "very temperate and wholesome ayre, fertile fieldes, pleasant hylles, . . . shadowyng woodes, plentie of all kinde of trees and groues, haboundance of corne, vines, and oliues"; "fayre cattayle, springs, fountaines, lakes, ryvers, and havens"

Italy, moreover, was "the principall place of recourse of all nacion"; from "Syria, Egypt, Cyprus, Candia, Constantinople" came "jewelles, drugges, spices, sylkes, cotton, sugar, malmesies"—so that the traveller in Italy encountered "Jewes, Turkes, Greekes, Moores, and other easterly merchantes."

"he that hath money to paye" could live on "fine breadde, synguler good wines . . . fleshe of all sortes, . . . foule of all kindes," and such plentie of delicate fruities as would make a man leave fleshe, foulis and fische to eate them . . . Melons, Pepons, Pomgranettes, Orenge, Lymmans, Citros, and sweete Grapes: . . . Vygges, apples, peares, peaches, plummes, and oliues."

Many "stranglers" flocked into Italy; especially "gentilmen," under pretext of study at Padua, Pavia, Ferrara, or "Pisa and others," where they could meet "excellente learned men" teaching philosophy, civil law, and all the "lyberall sciences": "Besides excellent maisters of musicke to singe and playe on all maner of instruments, and the best masters of fence So that all kindes of vertue may there be learned." In the winter of 1548 when Thomas was in Padua "the number of scholars there was little less than fifteene hundred, whereof I dare saye, a thousand at the leste were gentilmen."³

Though the difference in speech between a Florentine and a Venetian of the people, or the "Neopolitane and the Genouese" was as conspicuous "as with us betwene a Londoner and a Yorkeshyreman," each "gentylman" was so well educated that it was not easy to tell by his talk from whence he came. It seemed "as if ech one of them" had "a princelye bringyng up": "To his superior obedientie, to his equall humble, and to his inferiour gentle and courteyse"; very "amiable to a straunger." With these charming manners, Italians combined a sensitive regard for their good name: "whoesoever speaketh evyll of one of them, shall dye for it"; for which Thomas "dooeth rather allowe than blame them." Moreover this fastidiousness made men so careful of their words that one could spend "xx yeres" going through Italy and not experience "reproche or villainie, unless he provoke it hymself."

"The principall merchantes are for the most part gentilmen," keeping "the reputacion of nobilitie" while following their trades. "The finest workmen and best inventours" are so well paid that they "grow sometimes unto great wealth." But the peasants were oppressed, because gentlemen lived in "the walled cyties and townes, leaving the villayges, fyeldes and pastures in theyr tenuantes handes," under conditions much less favourable to the "poore man" than those of England.

¹ E.E. vol. I. Prologue, p. 63.

² "Imprynted at London in Fletestrete nere to Saincte Dunstons Churche by Thomas Marshe. Anno Domini. 1561." Quarto, B.L. Includes a chronology of the Popes from "Petrus" A.D. 33, to the 232nd, "Paulus 3. 1535," who had then been Pope for one year.

³ p. 3. Sig. A. iii.

"As for the women," "for gorgeouse atyre, apparayle and Jewelles, [they] excede (I thinke) all other women of our knownen world": not only the respectable married ones, but the other sort, who were so sumptuously dressed and waited upon "that to see one of them unknowinglye, she should seem rather of the qualitie of a princesse, than of a common woman."¹

In Rome the magnificence of the "Cardynalls,"—more gorgeous than Emperors or Kings,—astonished Thomas; as also "the libertie of straungers" in Venice: "If thou be a Jewe, a Turke, or beleuest in the devyl (so thou spread not thyne opinions abroade,) thou art free from all controllment So thou offende no man priuately, no man shall offende thee": which "is one principall cause that draweth so many straungers here."²

In Florence "the ii principal houses of Strozzi and Medici seem rather the buildynges of princes than of priuate men." Nearly all houses can be made beautiful "good cheape"; there being "marble and stone plente in the mountaines there by." He commands especially the "goodlye hospitalles," and the "verie faire and strong castell."

For History he relied on "Nicholas Macchiauegli, a notable learned man." (To Machiavelli's political views in *"Il Principe"* he does not allude.) In Venice he saw the Doge's palace, a "sumptuouse building and not yet finished." At Urbino he though the ducal palace "a very faire house" though hardly so impressive as he had inferred from "Conte Baldesar" [Castiglione] in the Book of the Courtier. He admired all the sights of Venice, especially the "new Castell," "for strengthe and beautie one of the rarest things dooen in these days,"—and the ancient church of St. Mark; also the "piazza di San Marco" with "faire glasen wynddowes" and brick pavements; the Rialto and the schools,—but "the Arsenale in myne eye exceedeth all the rest":

"For there they have well neere two hundred galleys in such an order, that upon a very smal warnyng they may be furnished out unto the sea. Besydes that for every daye in the yeare" they "should be able to make a newe galeys: having such a staple of Timber (whyche in the water within Th'arsenale hathe lyen a seasoninge, some 20 yearre, some 40, some an 100, and some I wot not how longe) that it is a wonder to see it. And evertye of these galeys hath his coveryng or house by hym selfe on drye lande: so that long lyng unoccupied can not hurte them. Their mastes, cables, sailes, ankers, rooders, ores, and every other thyng are redy with such a quantitie of artillerie, both for Sea and lande, as made one to wonder besides the harneise and weapons, that suffise (as they saye) to arme an 100,000 men.

Finallye the noumber of workemen waged for terme of life is wonderfull never lesse than 600. working in the Arsenale, be it in peace or warre.'

And because they have suche a number of botemen, they need not seeke further for mariners to furnishe their galeys wythal there are no lesse than 12,000 botes dayly serving . . . and almost no bote rowed but of a sufficient mariner. So that if the Venetians had ben men, as the romans were, geven as well unto chualtrie by land, as unto exercise on the water: no doubt thei might many yeres agoen have subdued the worlde. But sure theyr power hath been more warely gouerned, than valiantly enlarged. For sens Constantinople was gotten by the turkes,³ theyr dominion hath decreased:" partly because "they [the Venetians] rather practice with money, to bie and sel countreys peace and warre: than to exercysede deedes of armes"; and they are "better merchants than men of warre."⁴

This was written nearly a quarter of a century before the battle of Lepanto, in which the Venetian galleys were to earn a large share of glory for helping to overthrow the Navy of the Grand

¹ p.5. Sig: B.ii, and see p.84. verso; and p.85 for the "less than honest" woman being "so riche that in a maske, or at a feaste of a mariage, you shal see them decked with jewelles as if they were Queenes As for their beauty of face, though they be fayr, I would not commende them, because there is in manner none, old or yong, unpainted."

² pp. 85—85 verso. But the conditions changed afterwards. See ante, E.E. p. 247.

³ A.D. 1453. ⁴ pp. 75 & verso.

Turk. After October, 1571, Venetian, Roman and Spanish artists vied with each other to depict that mighty conflict in which they felt invisible angelic powers to have reinforced the allied Christian fleet and given them a more than mortal valour.¹

When Philip Sidney visited Venice, what interested him the most was to see some of the identical galleys which had taken part in that great battle. Though these lay idle, the fact that with the utmost celerity they could be armed and put to sea, was one of the chief means of keeping the Adriatic and the Mediterranean safe for navigation by the Powers of Christendom.²

¹ See E.E. vol. II, plate 12, picture in the Sala Regia, Vatican, by Vasari and Sabbatini. One in the Doge's Palace, Venice, by Veronese, likewise depicts the heavenly hosts; as also does the painting in the Naval Museum at Madrid. This last would have been reproduced for E.E., were it not that it is most difficult to photograph satisfactorily. Only a portion of it, "*La Capitana* de Don Juan de Austria," has been attempted for reproduction in "*Gente de Mar por Gervasio de Arriñano catedrático de la Escuela Central de Ingenieros Industriales. Trabajo insertado en el tomo III de la Obra Folklore y Costumbres de España.*" Barcelona, 1934. (half-tone, 5 x 2½ inches; p. 39). And see p. 57, "*Cuadro de la batalla de Lepanto; Casa de Cervantes, Valladolid.*" For a later rendering, see op. cit. p. 43, "*Siglo XVII. La batalla de Lepanto. Fresco de la iglesia de San Pablo, en Sevilla, atribuido a Lucas Valdés.*" In this also the Virgin Mary is depicted enthroned above the conflict.

² As these pages are passing through the press, the grammar to which Thomas refers is identified: "*La grammatica volgare di M. A. de gl'Acharisi da Cento.*" G. A. Nicolini da Sabio, Vinegia. 1537. (B.M. 12934.a.33).

"*Vocabolario, grammatica et orthographia de la lingua volgare, con ispositioni di molti luoghi di Dante del Petrarch et del Boccaccio. L'autore: Cento 1543.*"

"*Le Ricchezze della lingua volgare.*" Figliuoli di Aldo, Vinegia. 1543. fol. (B.M. C.83.e.9.) Two more editions: "*Le Ricchezze della lingua volgare. Riconrette et molto ampliate dallo stesso autore.*" Figliuoli di Aldo. Vinegia. 1551, fol. (B.M. 12941.i.3) and 1557 (Vinegia).

As for Pietro Alumno, mentioned ante by Thomas's editor, no one of that name can be found; but according to B.M. Catalogue the book quoted was by *Francesco Alunno da Ferrara*.

NOTE. "TO TRADE IN BARBARY," 1585.

It was in July, 1585, that Lord Burghley noted, in his Chronology, a Privilege "graunted to the Erles of Warwick and Leycester, and certayne Merchaunts for the space of twelve years."¹

This was the famous Barbary Company, the terms of which are no secret, the Charter having been published in 1589 by Hakluyt in "*Principal Navigations*," dedicated to Sir Francis Walsingham, and often reprinted since. But whereas it is now commonly believed that the dealings of England with Morocco were primarily commercial, and had no political complexion, actually the affairs of the exiled King Antonio were closely intermingled with the trading ventures of Leicester, who, from 1581 to 1588, was one of Antonio's most powerful sympathisers.

The passport issued in 1584 by Antonio to his Captains,² and the publication in 1585 of the English, Latin, French, and Dutch versions of Antonio's "*Explanation*" of his "*Right and Title*,"³ have not hitherto been brought into juxtaposition with each other or with the Charter to the Barbary Company.

As to the doings of Englishmen in Morocco, unpublished correspondence is forthcoming in the later volumes of this History. Daring and diplomatic soldiers, venturesome and valiant merchants, sent by Lord Leicester to Africa, have left on paper enough to indicate that very much more than mere exchange and barter was in the minds of the founders of the Barbary Company during the eventful summer of 1585.

¹ *State Papers*, Murdin (1759), p. 782.

² E.E. Vol. V. p. 112.

³ E.E. Vol. IV. pp. 24-25; 39-44.

"THE COUNTRIE NOW . . . CALLED VIRGINIA."

Sir Richard Grenville as Raleigh's Lieutenant, 1585.¹

"In this yeare 1585, even in April, at the pleasant prime, Sir Walter Raleigh, Knight, being encouraged by the reports of his men of the goodnesse of the soile and the fertilitie of the contrie, which they had discovered this yeare last past" (1584) "and now by hir Majestie called Virginia,—with knighthie courage" and "double desire of honour by undertaking hard adventures,—furnished, to his great charges, eight sailes of all sorts, and immediately set them to the sea."

He appointed as his Lieutenant "Sir Richard Greenfield" (Grenville) "his kinsman, (a gentleman of very good estimation, both for his parentage and sundrie good vertues)." The plan was "to begin an English colonie."

The paragraph in extenso is long and involved; and, carelessly read, it has sometimes been taken to mean that Raleigh sailed in person to Virginia. But he remained at the Court. It was Grenville whom he put in command. The voluntaries were Sir John Arundell, Thomas Cavendish, Ralph Lane, Edward Gorges, John Stukeley, Edward Stafford, Philip Amadas, Arthur Barlow, Thomas Heriot, "and diverse other gentlemen and a competent number of soldiers."

They encountered foul weather, and the ships were separated by the storm; so that Grenville, about the middle of June "being singled out from his fleet, all alone arrived in the Island of Hispaniola in the West Indies

. . . . immediately after his landing, finding a place to his liking, he esconced himselfe in despite of the Spaniards," who by "sundrie skirmishes" tried to force him to retire to his ship. But he "kept his ground."

Twelve days later, Cavendish arrived with his company. The Spaniards, unable to "remoove these few resolute Englishmen by violence, came to a parlee, and concluded an amitie, that one nation might in safetie traffike with the other."

Sir Richard stayed about a month, built a boat,² "revictualled himselfe," and then loaded his ship with horses, kine, sheep, etc. to transport to Virginia, and "departed thence." On his way "he made discoverie of manie Ilands and havens upon the continent adjoining, and arrived safely in the new discovered contrie (where he met with the rest of his fleet) about the middest of July." As he was entering into harbour, his ship ran aground, and was in great danger of being wrecked entirely, "if God had not miraculously delivered him."

According to instructions from Raleigh, he "began to establish a colonie," appointing Ralph Lane "General of the English which were to remaine there"; 107 persons, amongst whom were "diverse gentlemen," namely Philip Amadas, Edward Stafford, Mervin, Kendall, Prideaux, Acton, Heriot, and others.

Leaving them as good a stock of provisions as he could spare, he weighed anchor for England. Before he had sailed many leagues from the coast, "he descried a tall ship," some 400 tons, to which he "gave chase, and in a few hours by goodness of sail overtook, and by violence won: richlie laden with sugar, hides, spices, and some quantite of gold silver and pearle: she was viceadmirall of the fleet of Sancto Domingo that yeare for Spaine."³

"After this good fortune, having a merrie gale, not manie dayes after he arrived at Plimmouth in October: where Sir Walter Raleigh meeting with him, did presently resolve upon another voyage to supplie Rafe Lane and his companie that were left with him in Virginia"

¹ From Continuation of Holinshed's Chronicle, 1586-7. (Ed. 1808; Vol. IV. pp. 598-600). Grenville's portrait will appear in the E.E. volume explaining his last fight, 1591.

² Having lost his ship's boat in the storms.

³ Recollect that the Spanish Ambassador had been dismissed from London in January 1583-4.

NOTE.

It is stated that the Trustees of the British Museum will issue in 1938 to subscribers, at £15 15s., one volume folio of John White's "*The Picture of Sundry Things collected and counterfeited according to the truth in the Voyage made by Sir Walter Raleigh Knight, for the Discovery of La Virginea, in the 27th Yeare of the most happie reigne of our Soveraigne Lady Queene Elizabeth, and in the yeare of our Lorde God 1585.*" (Facsimile reproductions in colour from originals in the B.M.; General Introduction by Laurence Binyon; with Notes on the History, Fauna and Flora by various authorities and edited by A. M. Hind).

This was the second Virginian voyage; the "discovery" had been in 1584. But the wording of the title lends new colour to the now-popular illusion that Raleigh in person went voyaging to Virginia (as depicted in the modern memorial window in St. Margaret's, Westminster).

It is to be hoped the editors intend to include in their notes Holinshed's description of the expedition, making clear that, while fitted out by Raleigh, it was led by Grenville.

As if in compensation for the tendency to ignore Grenville's services in the 1585 venture, he appeared in a London newspaper controversy in 1935 as the originator and leader of the West Country Gentlemen's petition of 1573-4 to Queen Elizabeth, which is unsigned but docketed, "*Sr Humphrey Gilbert, Sr George Peckham, Mr. Carlisle, and Sir Ri. Grenville and others. Voiaiges.*"

As Grenville was not knighted until 1577, the annotation would most likely have been made in 1578; at which time the matter was again put before the Queen, and Sir Humphrey did at last receive the Patent he had so long been trying to obtain. (See E.E. Vol. II, pp. 221-222; Vol. III, pp. 98-106; and Vol. IV, pp. 254-256).

Grenville was Gilbert's cousin (see Table facing p. 182); but he was two generations younger. That Gilbert was the pioneer, not only by seniority but as being the first to renew the English ambition to possess ports oversea, was claimed by Gilbert himself; and in his letter to Walsingham, 7th Feb., 1582(3), (E.E. Vol. IV, p. 260,) he refers to having formerly suffered "*the scorn of the world for conceiving so well of a matter that others held so ridiculous, though now by my means better thought of.*" (See E.E. Vol. III, pp. 87, 89, for Gilbert's ideas as first formulated in 1566).

ANTWERP: A RETROSPECT

"ALLARME TO ENGLAND."

On the 26th November 1576, Captain George Gascoyne had issued his description of "*The Spoyle of Antwerp*," by "a true English man who was present at this piteous massacre."¹

Two years subsequent to the fall of Antwerp, and a year after it had been recaptured by the Prince of Orange, an officer who had first seen service in 1562-63 in the defence of Havre, Captain Barnabe Riche, issued a work which has since been much misunderstood: "*Allarme to England, foreshewing what perills are procured where the people live without regarde of Martiall lawe; with a short discourse conteyning the decay of warlike discipline, convenient to be perused by Gentlemen such as are desirous by service to seeke their own deserved prayse and the preservation of their Countrey . . .*"²

In his dedication to "Syr Christopher Hatton, Knight, Captaine of her Maiesties Garde, Vice chamberlayne to her Highnes, and one of her Maiesties most honorable privie Counsayl," Riche apologises for his "simplicity and training up, which hath not been so much with my pen but more with my pike, nor in the schools amongst learned clerks but rather in the fields amongst unlettered companions, or as some will term them among a company of rustic soldiers."

This is not as humble as it sounds. And though in a separate address "To the Gentle and friendly Reader," Riche explains, "what I have written was only done in Ireland where there is no great choice of books to be had," he regards this as no drawback. Though

"such is the delicacy of our readers at this time that none may be allowed to write but such as have been trained at school with Pallas," he does not care what is thought of him by "Coxcombs" who pay more heed to the manner than the matter. "I wish them to cease any further to read what I have written: but thou which canst endure to read in homely style" of subjects "more behooveful and necessary than either curious or fyled, go thou forward in God's name, and I doubt not by that time thou hast perused to the end thou shalt find something to satisfy thy desire . . ."

This prose treatise is prefaced by verses from his friends and by himself. But before considering his rendering of the fall of Antwerp, let us picture "this great city," where

"the whole world piles up its riches: gold, silver, spices, gilded leather, Gobelin tapestry, cloth, stuffs of velvet, wool and silk; beans, peas, grain, meat, and flour, salted hides, Louvain wines, wines of Namur, of Luxembourg, Liège, Landtwyn, from Brussels and from Aerschot, Buley wines whose vineyard is beside the Plante gate at Namur, Rhine wines, wines from Spain and Portugal; grape oil from Aerschot that they call Landolium; wines of Burgundy, Malvoisie, and so many more . . ."³

As the headquarters of the wool trade, Antwerp was one of the chief commercial centres of Europe. Its beauty and prosperity are shown in many a contemporary engraving.⁴ Captain Riche,

¹ See Cunliffe's (1910) ed. of Gascoigne's *Works*, vol. II, pp. 587-599.

² "Newly devised and written by Barnabe Riche Gentleman . . . Perused and allo(wed) 1578. Imprinted at London by Christopher Barker, Printer to the Queene's Majestie." B.L. 4to. 2nd ed. (1578) "Imprinted at London by Henrie Middleton for C.B." (B.M. G.5528.) See also Cockle's "Bibliog. of English Military Books . . . 1900."

³ "The Legend of Ulenspiegel," C. de Coster; trans: Atkinson, (1922) Vol. II. p. 89.

⁴ Excellent examples by Martin de Vos and Franz Hogenberg reproduced by Sir William Stirling Maxwell, 1878, in his "Antwerp Delivered . . . 1577."

however, dared to say that its downfall in 1576 was not entirely due to Spanish ambition, but was partly invited by the refusal of the wealthy citizens to recognise any danger until too late. Such was the theme of his rhymed discourse, "The Author to the Reader, why he took in hand to write this book."

Although every consideration of self-interest in 1585 impelled Elizabeth to desire the victory of the Northern Netherlands, the personal sympathy of Englishmen for their allies did not prevent them from admitting the efficiency of their enemies. With the resolution, discipline, vigour and unity of Spanish officers and soldiers, under their absolute Monarch, Captain Riche contrasted the "slothfulness" of some of the Dutch burghers. (Spelling modernised):

"No stories strange I need recite a hundred years forepast,
 But such as chanced in these our days, and at this time doth last.
 Let Holland make discourse at large, if I have said amiss,
 Whose state sometime in all respects surmounted all in bliss:
 Whose towns were seated in such sort, by nature framed so strong,
 As no assault of foreign foe might do them sudden wrong.
 No want of wealth might work them woe, no coin with them was scant;
 Of ships great store in every port, no pleasure they did want,
 They lived at ease in vile excess, they sought for Locker cost¹
 Their paunches stuffed with double beer was what they cared for most.
 They honoured Bacchus as their god, and Venus had her due,
 But as for Mars they knew not him, they were not of his crew.
 They scorned to learn the laws of arms their country to defend,
 They lived in peace which as they thought should never have an end."

Terrible retribution ensued:

"Those that disdained all martial wights and scorned to learn their law,
 By martial might were soon suppressed, and brought to live in awe.
 The men of war by vow professed, a troop of Mars his train,
 Though number small, more haughty hearts came never out of Spain.
 And these were planted in their towns, throughout in every place,
 And soldiers now prescribed the laws, a woeful altered case.

• • • • •
 Their virgins fair, their married wives, the Spaniards held as thrall,
 • • • • •
 The husbands they must be content, they durst not seek redress."

Riche emphasises that the miseries of the women were due to the unmanliness of the men:

"A hundred Spaniards in a town would govern thousands five,
 The Hollanders were men of peace, they loved—not they—to strive."

Not only Holland, but Zeeland, Flanders, Brabant, had suffered;

"Antwerp, thou thy woful wrack, thy spoil hath prov'd plain
 Where martial minds do want, no state in safety may remain.
 For thou that sometime didst excel, whose wealth did so abound,
 Whose daily traffic did surmount, whose like might not be found,
 Whose streets with merchants did so swarm, who by their painful toil
 Did bring their goods by sea and land from every foreign soil;
 Of Europe thou the store-house rich wert sometimes called by name,

¹ Marginal note, "Locker cost is good chere."

In wealth I say a peerless piece, so passing¹ was thy fame:
 Thy houses built in bravest sort, with walls environed round:

*Artillery both great and small abundant was thy store,
 For armour, weapons, powder, shot, what should I speak of more:
 For all provisions for the war great store thou didst possess,
 Thou naught didst want but martial minds; the sequel showed no less."*
 "For hadst thou trained but half the troop to bin of Mars his train,
 That practised daily to be drunk in Bacchus' beastly vein;
 Or hadst thou spent but half the pelf to maintain martial wights
 That was consumed in vile excess by Bacchus' drunken Knights,
 What Keyser could have wrought thy woe, what Prince have done thee wrong
 What foreign foe have thee annoyed, thy force had been so strong:
 But Mars might be of no account, thou knew'st not such a god,
 His laws were never called to mind before thou felt his rod.
 the spoil the Spaniards gave to Antwerp in such sort
 That all the world doth wonder yet to hear the true report:
 Five thousand Spaniards at the most, by force in bloody broil
 Should so subdue a famous town and bear away the spoil,
 Where such provision of defence in store did so abound,
 Where hundred thousands able men were daily to be found.

Where Mars is had in no account, no state may long endure.

O England would thou didst regard what plagues in time do hap
 To such as so without respect are lulled in pleasure's lap.

*Shall martial feats be still neglect, as though we were so sure
 That this our time of pleasant peace should ever more endure?
 Would God it might, but so to wish I know is but in vain;
 Our foes are ready prest no doubt, they seek but time to gain.*

So here the cause that urged me first to take in hand to write
 This blunt discourse, good reader, here presented to thy sight."

"*Felix quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum.*" (Happy is he who takes warning from other people's dangers.)

Riche's criticisms against English methods of recruiting in 1578, have been in our own day misapplied to the campaigns of 1586-7 and of 1591, which were organised under admirable Laws and Ordinances, now reprinted after long oblivion. (E.E. Vol. VI, pp. 27-31).

In 1578 Riche bewailed "How small is the number that be in England of sufficient men," competent to defend their country; and how little credit or encouragement was given to them.² But his sorrowful analysis of "the cause why gentlemen do not desire to be soldiers"³ was an exaggeration when he wrote it; it had not been the case in 1569;⁴ and that it was not applicable in 1585 will be manifest to any who now read the hitherto unpublished list of English "Horsemen at the Hague," all "voluntaries," personal friends and followers of Leicester and his stepson Essex.⁵

¹ surpassing.

² "The Seconde parte entreating of Souldiers." f.C.i. verso and 3.iiii. verso.

³ F.H. verso.

⁴ E.E. vol. II. pp. 35-42.

⁵ E.E. Vol. VI, App. pp. 45-48.

As Riche's books were dedicated to his former General, Ambrose Earl of Warwick, brother of Essex's step-father, and to Sir Christopher Hatton, Essex's personal friend, Essex is certain to have seen them. And when we find in 1587, '88, '89, and onwards to 1599, not only a succession of contemporary testimonials from Englishmen as to Essex's practical knowledge of soldiers' requirements and duties, but also foreign tributes to his efficiency, we shall see how misleading it has been that the large body of such practical evidence has been overlooked; while Riche's protest in 1578 against "our manner of appointing soldiery" by scouring "the prisons of thieves" or the streets of "rogues and vagabonds"¹ has been quoted as if applicable to the entire reign of Queen Elizabeth.²

¹ "Allarme," K. iii. verso.

² This (with some comic quips of Falstaff), seems the foundation for the detrimental picture of Elizabethan soldiers given in The Hon. Sir John Fortescue's "*History of the British Army*," and his chapter on "The Army" in "*Shakespeare's England*." So high was his authority that his statements were not questioned; until the present writer examined into the actual conditions of the Army from original sources, and wrote to Sir John; who was much interested. His death happened too soon to permit of his utilising the new materials.

"HISTORIE OF THE CITIE OF ANTWERPE."

Before considering further the reasons why Queen Elizabeth decided to give her assistance to the Northern Provinces, and then procrastinated,—we should realise what the word "Antwerpe" evoked in the memories of Elizabethans. Having seen Barnaby Riche's satirical rhymes, in 1578, let us turn to a very different narrative, published in London, 1586, recording Antwerp's "tragicall" experiences up to 1585.¹ Characteristic of a time when even the most uneducated were expected to care for history, this booklet does not open with the arrival of the Prince of Parma and his fleet and troops, but goes back to the original causes of the war: viz, the discords with King Philip when his Netherland subjects protested against the Spanish Inquisition. Then "the populace fell to pulling downe and breaking of images . . . and spoiling of churches with over great insolencie; . . . whereon King Philip himself in passion and griefe" was believed to be going in person to enquire into the disturbances. But it was judged "neither convenient nor necessarie" that he should "take so great and dangerous a journey." His many "conjoined kingdoms and dominions" in Spain required his "perpetuall presence" at home. Hence his decision to send instead "the Duke of Alua, a prince for martiall prowesse no less famous than for militarie discipline and severe execution." The chronicler refers to "the Duke of Medina Caeli" as proposed at first by the Council, "being of the King's blood" and of "better house than the Duke of Alua," who was only "the second Duke of that name." [Actually third Duke, and of very ancient noble family]. But "the Duke of Aluas long experiance (the mistress of all things) did farre surpassee the other in militarie affaires;" and as the one most relied upon by the late "victorius Emperor Charles. . . . and who had served his majestic with great honor five and thirtie yeares in his wars, and thereby knew that and manie other countries, . . . he was the onelie man thought meet to be sent to set a bridle on Netherland, and to make a conquest of the whole countrie"

Claiming to speak impartially, the chronicler adds that "neither religion on the one side, nor the chastisement of rebellion on the other side, was all that was aimed at and fought for." The fear was lest the "hot and undescreet zeale" of some of the iconoclasts would be played upon by "wicked and dissolute persons that did intrude themselves among them in assemblies," more with intent to "spoil and pilfer" than for any real "godlinesse or sound religion."

Eminent persons who declared the Inquisition unsuited to the Netherlands, implored the King not to judge all classes by the violence of mobs, but rather measure Protestants by their authorised prayers and preachings. Moreover, even if they were called heretics, why need their Churches be forbidden, when the Pope "doth suffer the Jewes to have synagoggs and exercise of their religion within his owne citie of Rome and other places under his subjection?" [There ensue various precedents of concessions to Protestants by the Emperors Ferdinand and Maximilian, in Germany, Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia].

"But the king, nothing moved either by their humble requests or liberall offers," purposed

¹ "An Historicall Discourse, or rather a tragicall Historie of the citie of Antwerpe, since the departure of king Phillip king of Spaine out of Netherland, till this present yeare, 1586 [Device] At London Printed by John Windet, dwelling in Adling Street, at the signe of the White Beare, neere Baynard's castle." Title p. and blank verso; 2 pp. (rom) list of contents; 6 chapters, from the regency of Margaret Duchess of Parma, to the siege by the Prince of Parma. Then B.L. 50 pp. unnumbered. Windet's device on last page, with mottoes, *Non solo pane vivet homo*; and *Verbum Dei manet in aeternum*. Two copies in B.M.; and one in possession of Mr. Francis Edwards, 83 High Street, Marylebone, London, W.

"by maine force to effect his desires, and by dint of sword to inforce that which by a milder kind of government he could not entreat; . . . and howbeit a Prince is not alwaies bound to give a reason of his actions, nor to enterchange words with malecontended subjects," he replied that if other Princes had given "toleration to Iewes, Gentils, and Heretiks," it did not follow that he was under obligation to do so. Rather would he "breake that which he could not bend;" and he was not to be bribed by any "masse of mony."

"Now," continues the chonicler, "Ferdinand Aluares of Toledo, duke of Alua, lieutenant generall of the lowe countrie, departed from the court at Madrill to Barcelona, accompanied with his two sonnes, Fredericke of Toledo . . . and Ferdinand of Toledo, with manie other valient Gentlemen and expert capteines of Spaine."

He "arrived at Genua, in the middest of Maie 1567," suffering from "a tertian ague which the seas had given him" and for a while he was too ill to proceed.

Realising that under his rule there would be no compromise, many Netherlanders "that were faint in heart but strong in faith, entred with their wives and children into voluntarie exile"; while others of bolder temper armed themselves in readiness to resist. The magistrates of Antwerp strove to keep order, but the "violent furie of the citizens was no sooner quieted" than they divided themselves into various factions, "Papists, Martinists, and Calvinists, everie one invading severall streets, . . . and all furnished with great and small artillerie." When the Catholics [surprisingly] joining with the Martinists, a "wonderfull great effusion of blood" was apprehended; but the Prince of Orange and the Mayor intervened and "calmed their furie."

Many particulars ensue about the preparations of the Duke of Alba, and his arrival in Antwerp, with "Chiapin Vitelli and capteine Pachiotto, two Italian inginiers, in these our daies most renowned, giuing them in charge to erect there a citadell after the new and best order of fortification, with five verie great and unbatterable Bulwarkes," the first two of which he named after himself and the city of Toledo, the next after his sons, and the fifth "in honour of his maister workman Pachiotto."¹

The citizens found his building the more "grievous," in that they were taxed to contribute to it; and their own artillery was carried into the castle, "the greater ordinance planted and bent against them . . . Over and besides, in the middest of the said Castell, the said Duke caused a victorious and triumphant Image of himselfe to be made, cast of the copper of the artillerie which he tooke from his enemies, and the same to be raised upon a pedestall of marble beautified with manie goodlie figures . . ."²

There follows an account of Alba compelling the citizens to "bring in all their armour and weapons, and leave them at the Gouvernours house"; and when they complained, he "published at Brussels and Antwerpe his commission given him from the King, of a farre greater authoritie than that which was given to the Ladie Margaret" [Duchess of Parma, previously Regent]; "for the King made the Duke Capteine generall, with authoritie . . . to place and displace all gouernours,

¹ The Duke also employed another Italian engineer, Bartolomeo Campi; see "Documentos Escogidos . . . de la Casa de Alba," (1891), p. 393. Also A. Angelucci, "Documenti inediti per la storia delle arme da fuoco italiane," Turin, (1869), p. 330; translated in Albert Calvert's "Spanish Arms & Armour," (1907), p. 103, quoting a letter from the Duke to the King, 3 June, 1568: "I tell your Majesty that you have a good man in Captain B. Campi, . . . though not so well founded as Pachiotte, . . . he is the best man I have met with since I have known men; I do not say only engineers, but men of any sort . . ." Campi was killed at Haarlem, 1573; for which siege see E.E. Vol. II, pp. 200 a, b, c, d.

² See illustration in the present Duke of Alba's *Discurso*, Madrid, 1919; facing p. 86.

captaines and other officers, . . . to call the treasurers and masters of the finances to accoumpts, and to chose and appoint generals of the provinces . . ."¹ Then comes an account of the "dreadful terror" he inspired; and how he enforced peace and uniformity "against their will;" and further insisted "that they should pay the tenth penie of all the moueables which were sold, the twentieth penie of all their immoueables, the hundredth in the just value of all their goods . . ." In an age when there had been no income tax, this "impost" desperately "grieved the citizens." But they had to "indure in patience" what they "could not remedie."²

After "this monster" [Alba] was recalled and the milder "Requezenius" [Requesens] was sent in his place (in 1573), Antwerp expected ease and peace; but a "farre worse scourge" was yet to come. There ensues a description of the 1576 "furie":

"Thus was that Noble citie the verie paragon and flower of all other the cheefe cities and townes in Europe cruellie sacked, in which laie the greatest part of the treasures and riches of the lowe countrey, besides the inestimable treasure that the Almaines, English, French, Italians, Spanish, and Easterling merchants had there, in so much that the verie spoile there taken of gold and silver in readie coine was esteemed at twentie hundred thousand pounds, and their jewels, plate, and market wares together with the damage . . . was valued at as much more."³

The explanation given is that this "most barbarous" conduct was "by mutinous souldiours," who were "proclaimed traitors, and ranke rebels"; and that it was "never openlie allowed by the King nor his Counsell," who—when Don John of Austria took over the governorship,—commanded that those who had wrecked Antwerp "should be punished." Nevertheless "the Spanish furie" of 1576 did great harm to the reputation of Spain.

The story is continued to the "tragicall pageant" of the French occupation in 1583. Next in 1584 began the "long and tedious siege" by Alexander Farnese, Prince of Parma, the beginning of which coincided with the murder of the Prince of Orange: "after whose death, the Prince of Parma setting five hundred labourers and one hundred carpenters on worke,"—and protecting them "on land by his armie, on sea by his navie,"—contrived to "choke the river" with twenty-one armed ships. Each lying at four anchors, at equal distance from one another, he made a bridge across them, "defended with fiftie and seven ships of war, and manie strong bulwarks both on Flanders and Brabant side." Fortune was with him, for during all that summer "there were no great blasts of anie Northerlie windes," by whiche the Zeelanders "in a lustie gale, and full saile, might have come with their navie, broken and oversailed the bridge, and victualled the town."⁴

The menace was uncomfortably near England; when Sir Francis Drake and Sir Philip Sidney were planning a further enterprise to the New World to surprise and defy the all-dominating power of Spain.

¹ See E.E. Vol. II. pp. 6—7, for this Commission, from the original.

² The present Duke of Alba is alleged lately to have received from the Netherlands a newspaper article stating that his ancestor's taxation, formerly considered so autocratic and oppressive, was mild compared to what is paid without protest today. (For events of 1567-73, retrospectively from the Spanish standpoint, see "Vita Fernandi Toletani Ducis d'Albani," Salamanca, 1669. Translation, "Histoire de Ferdinand Alvarez de Toledé . . . Duc d'Albe," Paris, 1698; Tome II, pp. 220-480; and Tome I, pp. 1-8 for Alba's illustrious ancestry).

³ See also E.E., Vol. III, p. 67.

⁴ There is also "The miserie of Antwerpe: With the Troubles that are (at this instant) in Flaunders," &c., &c., "Written by an English Gentleman in Flaunders," &c., 24 July, 1585. (Knutel's Catalogue; no: 747). Van Meteren, Bor, and Hooft give many particulars; since amplified by Prof. Blok, from Dutch and Spanish MSS.

“FIN DE LA GUERRE.”

Hobernberg makes the ship tell her own story:—

“ *Als mich die Statt Antorff gebauwt,
Auff mich erwaz zu vertrawitt,
La fin de Guerre, mich genantt.
Dem feindt wardt ich bald bekantt.* ”

Er bolirt umb mich tag und nachtt,
Dass er mich habe zu seiner machtt.
Bekomptt mich auch in kurtzer zeit,
Mitt geringer muhe und keinem streitt.

Dan mein besatzung von mir lieff
Liess mich stehen do es nitt gar tieff,
Werd baldst gefangen ohn mein schuldtt.
Muss ietz dem feind sein traw und hudlt.”

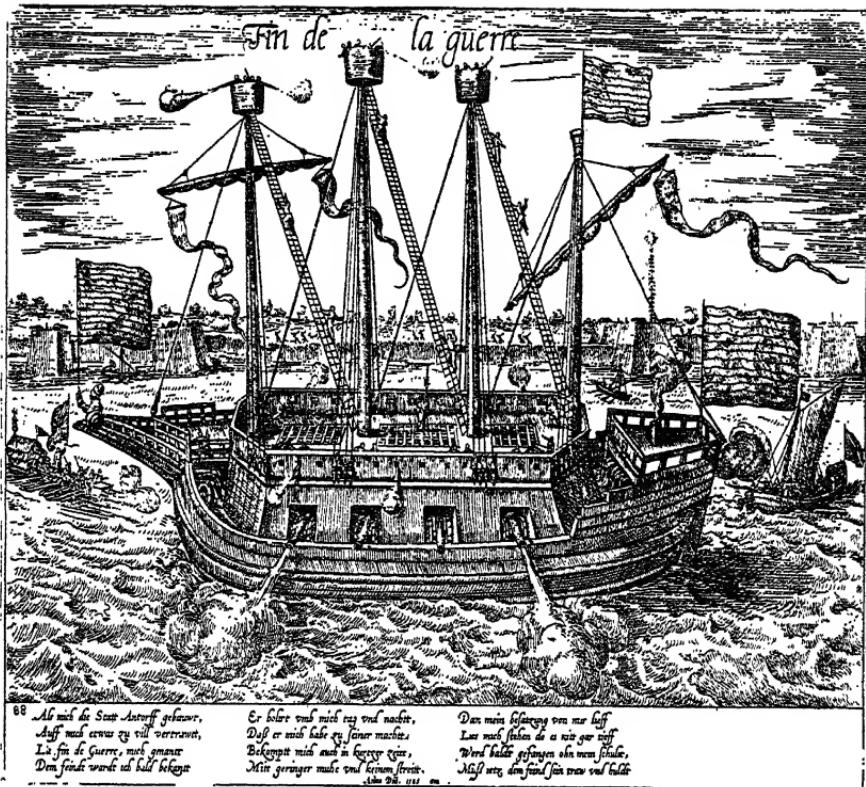
This may be Englished literally:—

[*When the town of Antwerp built me,
Much faith was placed in me,
They called me La fin de la Guerre.
To the enemy I was soon known.*]

*He bombarded me day and night,
That he might have me in his power.
Got me also in a short time,
With little trouble and no strife.*

*Then my crew ran from me
And abandoned me where it was not deep.
Soon was I taken without fault of mine.
Now to the enemy I must be faithful and obedient.*]

Anno Dni. 1585.



“FIN DE LA GUERRE:”

Warship built for the United Provinces.

Now first reproduced from a contemporary print by Hogenberg, in Leyden University Library.

Not in a book, but one of a numbered series, believed to have been published at Cologne. (The National Maritime Museum at Greenwich also possesses this print, and one exactly similar but lacking the number, 88.)

This beautiful ship, of so proud and challenging a name, was captured by the Spanish victors after the fall of Antwerp. (See verses opposite.)

PART III.

“Ambitious, politic, and valiant.”

CHAPTER 2.

“PRESENT DANGER.”

SECTION 2.

“Most ready and adventurous.”

(*The troubles in the Netherlands; and Sir Philip Sidney's intended share in Drake's expedition of 1585.*).

“The Phenix of our age, whose acts admitt no peres.”

Henry Robarts, Citizen of London, to and of “Sir Frauncis Drake Knight, Generall of her Maiesties Navy,” 1585. (E.E., pp. 281-284).

“. . . being of your selfe most ready and adventurous in all exercises of feats of warre and chivalry.”

Nicholas Lichefield “To the right Worshipful Maister Philip Sydney, Esquire”: dedicating to him “*De Re Militari.*” 9 Dec: 1581. (E.E., Vol. IV, p. 780).

“Indeed he was a true modell of Worth: A man fit for Conquest, Plantation, Reformation, or what Action soever is greatest and hardest amongst men. . . . The Universities abroad and at home accompted him a generall Macaenas of Learning; dedicated their Books to him; and communicated every Invention, or Improvement of Knowledge with him. Souldiers honoured him, and were so honoured by him as no man thought he marched under the true Banner of Mars that had not obtained Sir Philip Sidney's approbation.”

“*The Life of the Renowned S^r Philip Sidney.*

With the True Interest of England as it then stood in relation to all Forrein Princes, especially . . . the Power of Spain.

Written by Sir Fulke Grevil, Knight, Lord Brook, a Servant to Queen Elizabeth, and his Companion and Friend.” (Chapter iii).

“If her Majesty be not persuaded and fully resolved that the cause is of other importance than as it were to make a show and become only a scarecrow, it were better not to enter into it. . . .

It will be very needful . . . [to make sure] that she doth mean to deal thoroughly and princely in the cause.”

The Earl of Leicester to the Lord High Treasurer (Burghley), 28 August, 1585.
Orig: Hatfield MSS. 192.

Endorsed by Burghley, “*Erle of Leicester, his consent to serve the Queen in the Low Country.*”

NOTE: SIDNEY AND GREVILLE.

Despite the heading of the ensuing section, it relates less to Sir Philip Sidney's feelings than to the European circumstances at the time of his intended departure with Drake in the "Elizabeth Bonaventure."

The situation was imperfectly understood by the Rev. T. Zouch, D.D., F.L.S., "Memoirs of the Life of Sir Philip Sidney," York, 1808. Waving aside Greville's statements, as arising merely from "the indulgent partiality of friendship," Zouch substituted his own fancy that if Sidney had sailed on this enterprise, it "would probably have involved him in disappointment and disgrace, and overwhelmed all his real friends with astonishment and sorrow." Zouch further asserted that little can be said in its "defence"; by which he shows himself not to have understood it; nor to have known how it was regarded at the time. (See E.E., Vol. V, pp. 281-283, for a notable contrast).¹

The notion that Greville, writing "*The Life of the Renowned Sir Philip Sidney*" many years after the events, magnified his friend's influence, appears plausible only if we forget how it was to Sidney that Hakluyt had dedicated his first publication;² and Sidney's father who, from King Edward's day onwards, was a noted patron of exploration;³ also that Sidney's maternal grandfather John, Duke of Northumberland, Lord High Admiral, had been eager for the expansion of England's power; and furthermore that when Sir Humphrey Gilbert formed his plans for creating an oversea Empire "in the name of the Crown of England," Philip Sidney and his father Sir Henry, and his uncle Lord Leicester, as well as Sir Francis Walsingham, had been largely concerned.

No letter is yet found from Sidney himself in relation to the voyage of 1585. This is the less surprising in that arrangements between Sidney and Drake, being secret, would most likely have been verbal, through Greville.

¹ Zouch's monograph begins with a mistake, which in over 120 years seems not to have been corrected: viz. a frontispiece portrait of "Sir Philip Sidney" by "Velasquez." Velásquez was not born till the end of the century in which Sidney died. The picture is of a personage in late Jacobean garb (circa 1624). The coat of arms in the background is not that of the Sidney family. Nevertheless a portrait somewhat resembling it in features and style has been added, in our day, to the Long Gallery at Penshurst Place, where its unlikeness to the authentic Philip Sidney in the same gallery is conspicuous. The present writer suggested it might suitably be renamed "Gentleman unknown," and the date of the purchase recorded.

² E.E. Vol. IV. p. 258. ³ Ib: Vol. I. p. 83.

PART III.

“*Ambitious, Politic, and Valiant.*”

CHAPTER 2.

“*PRESENT DANGER.*”

SECTION 2.

“*Most ready and adventurous.*”

(*The troubles in the Netherlands; and Sir Philip Sidney's intended share in Drake's expedition of 1585.*)¹

ON the 26th November, 1583, when Don Bernardino de Mendoza had written from London to King Philip announcing the arrest of Francis Throckmorton, “only one paper” had been found upon the prisoner, but it was compromising, being “a list of the principal ports in England and particulars with regard to them and the chief gentlemen and Catholics dwelling therein.”

“For this they at once carried him to the Tower, and it is to be feared that his life is in danger, although he informed me by means of a cipher note, written on a playing card and thrown out of the window, that he denies that the document is in his handwriting, the caligraphy being disguised. He told them that some person had thrown it into his house for the purpose of injuring him; and assures me that he will endure a thousand deaths rather than accuse anyone, which message he begs me to convey to his Catholic friends with whom I was in communication. I have written to the lady in prison [Mary Queen of Scots] encouraging her, and begging her not to grieve; . . . but this business, it

¹ Matters now compressed into this one brief section formerly filled a large typed volume of 4 sections: (1) Details of the European political position arising from the clash between Henry of Navarre and Henry of Guise; and the plans of Spain and Rome in relation to England. (2) Correspondence between the United Provinces and England, after the death of Pope Gregory XIII and the election of Pope Sixtus V. (3) The hopes built by Mary Queen of Scots and her adherents at home and abroad upon the intended Spanish invasion of England: with a discussion on the mysterious death of Henry Percy, 8th Earl of Northumberland, prisoner in the Tower,—whether it was suicide or murder?—and how far he was (or was not) embroiled in Mendoza's and Page's plans? (4) Fulke Greville's retrospective narrative of Sidney's and his own dealings with Drake, as to the expedition in the “*Elizabeth Bonaventure.*”

While using the flyleaf of the 4th, the previous three have been reduced to less than a sixth of the former proportions. The selected quotations are the result of considering the above named matters in their bearings upon each other, and upon happenings treated in Vols. VI and VII.

*may be feared, may imperil her life if the negotiations in France are entirely discovered. Hercules [the Duke of Guise] has been duly warned . . .*¹

And Tassis wrote to King Philip, from Paris:

“Although I am sure Don Bernardino de Mendoza will give an account and explanation of the fresh persecution of the Catholics in England, I think well also to send your Majesty a short relation which was given me by one of our English friends.

They are sure that nothing of this is caused by any real suspicion on the part of the Queen, of the plan they have in hand . . . I have urged them by every possible means to have any suspicion on her part lulled . . . The lady is so suspicious, and there was always danger in the matter being in so many hands.”

Tassis dreaded for Throckmorton “what they may wring out of him about them, by torture, although they tell me he is so faithful a gentleman that they have no fear” of his incriminating them.²

Mendoza’s next letter to the King from London deplored that he was “unable to learn anything that is not publicly talked about in the street corners; as all my channels of information have been stopped through these arrests. Not only do people avoid converse with me, but persons of all conditions dare not even look at my servants; and the Councillors are publicly using expressions from which it may be inferred that the Queen will order me to leave the country . . .”

We have seen how this ensued a few weeks later; and how Mendoza, audaciously denying to the Council that he ever conspired at all, had sarcastically rebuked Queen Elizabeth for not appreciating him.

If we did not know of the Spanish alliance of the English Catholics it would seem unnecessary that “one and twenty Iesuites, seminaries, and other massing priests late prisoners in the Tower of London, Marshalsee, and King’s bench, were shipped at the Tower wharffe,” (the following January) “to be conveyed towards France, and banished this realm for ever.” (This was regarded by Elizabeth as an act of mercy; others having been “condemned and executed.”)³

These Catholic recusants were taken across in a bark called the “Marie Martin of Colchester”; which “by force of weather and chase of pirates” was driven to Boulogne, where the exiles were landed, and sent to their various destinations. Holinshed prints a letter in which, while expressing their “grief of mind” at having had to leave their native country, they thank the shipmaster, and the Queen’s yeoman usher, for courtesy and kindness on their sorrowful journey.⁴

¹ Cal. S.P. Spanish, III. No. 362. p. 510.

² Ib: p. 511. See E.E., ante, p. 253.

³ Holinshed, IV, p. 554. See Mendoza to K. Philip, Cal: S.P.S. III. p. 538: “An Act was passed” etc.; “passage will be found for any port they may choose.” 1584-5.

⁴ Ib: p. 556. See also *Catholic Records*, vol II, Item 3, for lists of prisoners.

The previous day, 20th January, Henry Stanley, Earl of Derby, kissed the Queen's hand at Greenwich, preparatory to departure on a special embassy to France to take the Order of the Garter to the King. Six days later "the Earl with his train passed from London to Gravesend in a tiltboat"; and taking posthorses rode to Sittingbourne, where he rested on the way to Dover, en route for Calais.¹

That same January, Queen Elizabeth lost by death a former Ambassador to France, her Lord High Admiral, Edward Fiennes, Lord Clinton, first Earl of Lincoln, K.G., P.C., whose reputation for vigour and valour had helped to "keep the seas" in the crisis of the Northern Rising.² "Singularly beloved in his life; so accordingly bemoaned at his death," he left a large family of children (and has descendants to this day). He had been Lord High Admiral also to Queen Mary, and to Edward VI; and Cambridge University had saluted him as the "Neptune" of England.³

His successor was not immediately nominated; but Mendoza in May, from Paris, erroneously reported to King Philip that "Lord Harry Howard has been made Lord Admiral";⁴ an unlikely choice, Lord Harry never having been at sea. The actual appointment was of his cousin, Charles, the 2nd Lord Howard of Effingham.⁵

In gathering up the threads in the fabric of our country's relations with foreign powers, we should realise that the discussion of a possible treaty between the Queen of Scots and the Queen of England; the siege of Antwerp by the Prince of Parma; the assassination of the Prince of Orange; the appeal of the Low Countries to Queen Elizabeth to accept the Sovereignty of their United Provinces; the conspiracy of Parry, and his execution; the imprisonment of the Earl of Arundel in the Tower; and the trial and execution of Throckmorton are matters all bearing upon each other.⁶ And all the while the Queen of Scots, suffering many discomforts and

¹ Ib: p. 557. Mendoza reported to King Philip Lord Derby's arrival at Boulogne with "a great following of English nobles." (Paris 7 Feb: 1584-5. Cal. III. p. 530). In the same letter Mendoza alludes to "Ascanio Cifarini"; concerning whom the editor (Hume) added that Cifarini had been "sent by the Duke of Parma to the Queen" (should be Prince of Parma, he did not succeed to the Dukedom until a year later). Hume refers to Walsingham having written to Sir Edward Stafford, 8 Dec: 1584, that Cifarini was "a very bad man . . . the instrument for corrupting St. Souleme and persuading him to abstain from fighting during Strozzi's naval action . . . at St. Michael's in favour of Don Antonio, and thus causing the overthrow of Strozzi and the French force." (Hume, epitomising from Hatfield MSS, Vol. III, p. 75). See E.E. Vol. IV, for Strozzi's portrait, and the battle.

² E.E. Vol. II. pp. 31, 37, 154; and his portrait, plate 28.

³ Holinshed (1586-7): ed: 1808. Vol. IV. p. 554.

⁴ May 4. Cal: S.P.S. III. p. 537.

⁵ See his relationship to the Queen; pedigree, E.E. Vol. II. facing p. 150.

⁶ 15th March (1584/5), Mendoza from Paris had reported to King Philip that Parry was "suspected of a design to kill the Queen, and has confessed as much." 5 April, 1585, Mendoza wrote, "They have beheaded Dr. Parry"; but no such thing had been done; only noblemen were beheaded; hanging was the mode of death for lesser persons. Mendoza refers to the alleged letter from the Cardinal of Como as "fictitious" (Cal: S.P.S. III. p. 534-35). But see E.E. Vol. V, pp. 195-197.

pains, and chafing under the long anguish of hope deferred, was planning her emancipation, looking to France, Spain, and Rome as her rescuers. In mid-January 1545, Charles Paget wrote from Paris to warn her that there seemed to be some obstacle from Spain; Mendoza, complaining to him that the King of Scots apparently meant to remain Protestant: "he must be Catholicke afore there will be any good done. Nor, I suppose, quoth he, the Pope nor the Kinge of Spaine will enter into any action afore they may be assured thereof."¹

Therefore Paget feared there was no "expectation to be had of the matter your Majesty wroteth of this Spring coming . . ." Deplored that every day there were "new devices to breed delays," he urged her "to think of some other course" for herself and her safety: "whereof your Majesty hath need to have more regard than heretofore, because you may well see by the new monstrous oath lately devised how desirous they are to entrap you and cut off your whole line." Those of the "new devised Association" are "bound by oath to prosecute you and all your line to death."

Actually the Oath did not specify any particular person:² but Paget was so convinced of Leicester's enmity to Queen Mary, and to the danger to her life if she remained in England, that he laboured to persuade her to attempt escape from prison:

"if your Majesty could . . . be conveyed away, . . . not as a thing that can now be brought to pass by force, but by cunning . . . Me thinketh there were no way so sure to escape as to clothe yourself in man's apparel, and to have one woman so clothed to attend on you; and so may your Majesty be conveyed to any place of England to pass the sea, either to Scotland, Spain, or Lorraine:"

preferably Lorraine, because in Spain the King might wish to exercise more authority over her than she would like; "besides the passage is long." Paget suggested having a ship ready in "some haven or creek" in England, the master of which should not have any suspicion of her identity. With the aid of "a few discreet, courageous and faithful persons" such an escape (he urged) could be contrived.

He was eager to hear how her health would stand a journey: and he suggested that those who were left behind her should "keep your chamber door shut and say you lie sick in your bed"; to gain a little time before her flight should be discovered. If she were in male garments, even though the winds be contrary and delay her coming to France, yet her disguise would prevent "danger or suspicion."

(This very unwise letter was intercepted; so the harshness of Queen Mary's custodians, when soon afterwards she was genuinely ill, is partly explained, though not to be excused).

Mendoza, in his letters to King Philip, asserted that the Earl of Arundel would welcome a Spanish invasion; but Arundel himself (as we have seen) hotly denied

¹ Intercepted letter. *State Papers, Murdin*, pp. 435-439.

² *Ante*, pp. 206-207.

that in planning to go abroad he had any motive other than to "practise the Catholic religion." The same month that he had been arrested when trying to leave England, Pope Gregory XIII died suddenly on the 11th of April, 1585, at the age of eighty-two. Montaigne, who a few years previously had visited Rome, recorded his impressions after High Mass at St. Peter's and an audience at the Vatican:

"A fine old man, of upright and medium stature: a face full of majesty; a long white beard; his age is over eighty; the most vigorous and healthy being for that age that it is possible to imagine: without gout, without 'colique,' or any other ailment: of a sweet nature, not troubling himself much about the affairs of the world. A great builder, a great almsgiver

"Public offices are troublesome to him. He throws them voluntarily on the shoulders of others He gives as many audiences as people like. His answers are short and firm, and one would but lose one's time did one endeavour to dispute his decisions. What he judges to be just, he believes."¹

We may think that Montaigne imputed to the Pope something of his own aloofness from politics; for indifference to public affairs is not the impression which Gregory XIII would otherwise produce.

His alertness up to the last; his daily ride, and his preference for mounting his horse unaided, gave all who saw him an idea of mental as well as physical energy unabated by age.²

Though his death removed one of the most notorious of Queen Elizabeth's foes, she was destined to have an equally formidable antagonist in Sixtus V. Of the nine Popes contemporary with her reign,³ he is the next most outstanding to Pius V.⁴ Becoming, as he did, an almost legendary figure even during his lifetime, some of the post-mortem renderings of his ideas and actions are picturesque rather than precise.⁵ His actual plans for England we shall in due course see, direct from his own words.⁶ Meanwhile, both pontifically and in his capacity of temporal Prince, he had, on his accession, a more immediate concern with France.

¹ "Thoughts from Montaigne. Selected by Constance Countess De La Warr. With an Introduction and a Biographical Study. Foreword by Egerton Castle." London, 1904, pp. 49-50.

² For the standpoint of his English opponents, see Holinshed, Continuation, ed: 1808, Vol. IV. pp. 690-697; and for the Catholic view of his policy and actions, Pastor's (Austrian) *Lives of the Popes*, English translation. London, 1930. For his monument, E.E. IV, facing p. 218.

³ See Table, E.E. V, p. 223. ⁴ See E.E. Vol. II, pp. 43-51, and plates 7 and 11.

⁵ As a new English History (1936) refers to his supposed admiration for Queen Elizabeth, it should be added that this notion appears to arise not from his authentic words but from a retrospective story. See E.E., p. 272, note 2.

Of many available biographies, one of the most interesting is "The Life and Times of Sixtus the Fifth. By Baron Hübner, formerly Ambassador of Austria in Paris and in Rome. From unpublished diplomatic correspondence in the State Archives of the Vatican, Simancas, Venice, Paris, Vienna, and Florence. Translated from the original French by Hubert E. H. Jerningham" [subsequently Sir Hubert, and Ambassador]. 2 vols., London, 1872. Since this was written, the publication of the English Calendars of Simancas MSS. would make amplificatory footnotes easy for any future editor.

⁶ In Vol. VII.

Retrospectively we see Sixtus V as one of the most masterful of the Popes. But King Philip's Envoy in Rome, the Conde de Olivares, treated the peasant-born Pontiff with proverbial Spanish pride. It came to the ears of Olivares that Cardinal d'Este—of the ducal house of Ferrara, ill-affected to Spain,—was suggesting that the Pope should press the French to undertake “the enterprise of England” at once and place the Crown on the head of the King of Scotland. As the Pope had already conferred with two of the other Cardinals about it, Olivares “thought it necessary to speak to His Holiness”:¹

“I told him that when affairs in France and Flanders were settled it would be time enough to think about England; and that in any case Cardinal d'Este was a bad intermediary; . . . as also was the King of France who is now in favour of the Queen of England; but that the Duke of Guise, being the first cousin of the Queen of Scotland, would be the fitting person.

“I also pointed out to him the small assurance that exists about the King of Scotland's religion, and how much safer it would be to place his mother the Queen in possession of the Crown. And I said that the more earnestness his Holiness showed in favouring and aiding the Catholic Princes of France,” the sooner “could the English affair be undertaken.”

Traditional descriptions of how altered was the humble Cardinal Montalto as soon as transformed into the “haughty Pope Sixtus,” are not borne out by this letter, in which Olivares claims that His Holiness, “recognising the soundness of these arguments, . . . seemed ashamed that it had come to my knowledge that he had moved so unreflectingly in the matter;” and so, adds Olivares condescendingly, “I did not dwell on it.”

“Unreflectingly” appears an incongruous epithet. Pope Sixtus is now remembered partly for the violence of his language in relation to the struggle in France.² It is difficult to choose which is the more decisively worded,—the Pope's

¹ Rome, 15 July, 1585. Cal: S.P.S. III, p. 541.

² In Sir Paul Rycaut's “Continuation” of Platina's *Lives of the Popes*, 1685, pp. 181-182, the excommunications are rendered thus:—“ . . . this Sixtus V, who was of a towering Spirit, and one who delighted out of the pride of his heart to mortifie Princes and contend with great Personages, not only subscribed to the League in a most solemn manner, but with terrible maledictions issued out his Bulls of Excommunication against the person of Henry King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé, declaring them guilty of Heresie, and to be the chief Fomentors and protectors of the heretical party: and that consequently the said Henry, his Heirs, and all descended from him, was by the just Censures of the Canonical Law rendered incapable to succeed in the right of any Principality, and particularly to the Crown of France.”

The ensuing anecdotes are most improbable, but long remained popular: “Notwithstanding all the menaces of the Pope, and the power of the League, Henry comported himself with that Courage and generosity of mind that the Pope could not but much admire the heroicall spirit of that King, and conceived such an extraordinary Opinion of his abilities and worth that he would frequently say that there were only two Princes in the World, namely the King of Navarre and Elizabeth Queen of England, whose friendship and correspondence he would court and desire, but that the guilt of Heresie had rendered them incapable of his Acquaintance. And in such esteem those two were with him, (notwithstanding the prejudice he had to them for the cause of Religion,) that in his ordinary Discourse he would use this saying, that to make things go well in the world there was need only of three persons, viz. Elizabeth, Henry, and Sixtus. It is said also that Queen Elizabeth conceived such an esteem for this Pope Sixtus that . . . when some would discourse of her Marrying, she would often say that if she did marry she would have no other husband than Pope Sixtus”! (Who “said” any such thing we are not informed.)

anathema upon Henry King of Navarre, (who since the Duke of Anjou's death, was heir to the Crown of France,) or Henry's manifesto, the English translation of which was dedicated to Sir Philip Sidney, by the same French refugee who in the autumn of the same year translated the Latin "*Explanation*" of "Anthony, King of Portugal."¹ As Sidney could easily read it in the original, the dedication to him must have been in order to make it popular.² Because of his own abilities, and as Leicester's nephew, and as Queen Elizabeth's former Ambassador to the Emperor, Sidney was expected to play a conspicuous part in the world drama. But before considering the projects he was maturing with Drake,—by no means analogous to what his elders designed for him,—we should turn to affairs of the Netherlands, which afforded one of the main reasons for the Queen and Walsingham not wishing him to vanish into the New World.

Since July of 1584, Alexander of Parma had been besieging Antwerp for Spain. The last news that the Prince of Orange received before his tragic death, had been of the approach of Parma's forces.³ The successful progress of the siege was largely due to the misfortune of the Northern Netherlands in having lost their leader, "the father of the countrie."⁴ In their hard-pressed condition, the allied Provinces made a further appeal to Queen Elizabeth, beseeching her anew to accept the Sovereignty of the States.⁵

As related by Molyneux (Sir Henry Sidney's secretary), the twelve Deputies arrived in England from the Low Countries on the 26th of June, and were "verie worshipfully lodged" at the Queen's expense, in the Clothworkers Hall near the Tower of London. At Greenwich Palace, three days later, these envoys from Brabant, Guelderland, Flanders, Holland, Zeeland, Utrecht, and Friseland, fell "on their knees before hir Majestie; and so remaining, . . . one of them, Iosse de Menin, councellor and Pensionary of Dordrecht," made an impassioned appeal (in French). Their heavy losses, he said, since the death of the Prince of Orange, convinced them of the need of "a prince and sovereigne ruler" to defend them against the Spaniards. So they besought of the Queen of England, in her "magnanimitie, pietie, justice and other princelie vertues" to accept the "principalitie, sovereigntie, and just government" of these provinces "under good and equal conditions": meaning by "equal" that each State kept its local independence though all joined forces in the common cause.

"Although these countries" had "sustained much hurt" by the wars, they still held "manie great and strong townes and places, fair rivers, and deep ports

¹ E.E. Vol. IV, pp. 24-25; 39-46. ² E.E. V, p. 288.

³ H. van Grol; Zeeland Admiralty MSS, 1577-87, pp. 160, 166.

⁴ "A tragicall Histore of Antwerpe," 1586; ante, p. 259.

⁵ A favourite antithesis today between republicanism of the Northern Netherlands and the Monarchical spirit of the Spaniards, appears to leave out of consideration that in offering themselves to be under the jurisdiction of Elizabeth, the Netherlanders would only have changed one absolute Sovereign for another. But the other was of their own way of thinking. It was not Philip's absolutism they rebelled against, so much as the way in which it was applied. See E.E. Vol. II, pp. 3-4, 10-16.

and havens: out of which your maiestie and your successors may receive divers good services."¹

For reasons already defined, it did not suit England's policy to accept the burdensome and costly sovereignty; but while rejecting the proffered crown, the request for help could not be refused. Explaining the circumstances to her subjects by Royal Proclamation,² Queen Elizabeth began characteristically,

"Although Kings and Princes, Sovereigns, owing their homage and service onelie unto almighty God the King of all Kings," are "not bound" to give "the reasons of their actions to anie," except to God their "onlie Souereigne Lord," yet Her Majesty thought good "to publish not onlie to her own loving subjects" but to the confederate Princes and States, why she was moved to aid her "next neighbours."

First, "there hath been time out of mind" a continual traffic and intercourse between the English and the people of the Low Countries," creating a "perpetual union of the peoples hearts."

Harking back to the treaty of Henry VI with Philip of Burgundy, and recapitulating the alliances down to those of Henry VIII and the Emperor Charles V, Her Majesty described how the Low Countries being "now oppressed by the Spaniards bringing in many strangers" including "Italians and Almains,"—and depriving not only Protestants but Catholics of "franchises and privileges,"—she had "by manie friendlie messages and ambassadors" interceded with King Philip, that "by his wisdome and princelie clemencie" he might restrain the persons who governed for him in the Netherlands. But "they of his Councill in Spaine would not permit our express messenger with our letter to come to the King their master's presence: a matter very strange, and against the laws of nations."

Reciting and rebuking the peculiar behaviour of the Spanish Ambassador Don Guerau Despes, "a verie turbulent spirited person,"³ and of Don Bernardino de Mendoza who had corresponded underhand with Her Majesty's subjects, urging them to join King Philip's army when it should land in England, an explanation follows that Spanish efforts against the Low Countries were surely the forerunner of an attempted conquest of England.

Her Majesty's people, therefore, were admonished that English aid to the Netherlands was not given only out of neighbourly compassion, but also as the best means to avert invasion at home. To renew mutual commercial benefits, the Queen was taking under her protection "some few towns upon the sea side next opposite

¹ Continuation of Holinshed; first published 1586-7, ed: 1808, Vol. IV, pp. 616-620. Their oration there given in extenso in French (with translation).

² "A Declaration of the Causes moouing the Queene of England to give aid to the defense of the people afflicted and oppressed in the Low Countries," and Addition to same. Published by itself, sm. 4to. Reprinted in 1586-7, in Continuation of Holinshed. (op. cit. pp. 621-630). And E.E., V, pp. 289-291.

³ See E.E. II. pp. 101-114.

to our realm;" but this English occupation was only to be "until the Low Countries should be delivered of such strange forces" as do now "oppresse" them. Such, without reservation, she said, were the "true ends" and aims of the actions now to be undertaken:

"howsoever malicious toongs may utter their cankred conceits to the contrarie, as at this daie the world aboundeth with such blasphemous reports in writings and infamous libels as in no age the divell hath more abounded. . . . But thereof we leave the revenge to God, . . . " hoping that He will "grant good success to our intentions," to the comfort of all "that love peace truelie, and will seeke it sincerelie."¹

This public Proclamation forms a striking contrast to the private difficulties which the Privy Councillors experienced in keeping her to the point, and in dissuading her from driving too unreasonably hard a bargain with her allies.

As she could not make up her mind whether she would spare Lord Leicester,—again named from the Netherlands as the most suitable Lieutenant General,—Colonel John Norris was commissioned in the interim to take troops to the relief of Antwerp. But before Norris and his little force could sail, news came of the capitulation of the beleaguered city, which had held out for more than a year. As subsequently described, "after all valiant defences, subtle inventions, and warlike stratagems" of the besieged, "many for want of food were ready to perish," whereon "the people grew to outrage and waxed tumultuous."

An edict had been made forbidding any talk of surrender, and requiring the citizens to resist overtures from King Philip, and take their orders only from "the direction of the States."

But edicts are of little use if there is no leader strong enough to ensure that they are obeyed. Therefore, "seeing the unruliness of the people," and also that they were on the point of famine, "the Rulers were inforced, upon a necessary agreement, to yield" to the Prince of Parma. There was no sack, no "Spanish fury" this time. By the terms of the capitulation, those who chose could "issue forth with their goods, wives, and children." Three-fourths of the inhabitants then sadly departed, rather than submit to Spanish rule.²

News coming to England that Antwerp had capitulated on the 17th August, N.S., the royal instructions to Norris were changed in detail; but he embarked from the Thames as an advance contingent of the Queen's army; and he and those under his command so acquitted themselves as to inspire hope and confidence in further aid to follow.³ But the continued difficulty in persuading Queen Elizabeth to decide exactly what to do, is reflected in a letter (28th August, 1585) from Leicester to Burghley. Though it has been in print for nearly half a century, it seems

¹ Holinshed, p. 628.

² "A tragical Historie of Antwerpe," etc. (title, ante, p. 259). "Since the which yeelding, . . . the traffique of merchandize is clean gone," says the pamphleteer.

³ Services described in "A True Discourse Historicall, of the succeeding Governours in the Netherlands, and the Ciuell Warres, there begun in the yeare 1565," &c. (London, 1602). By Thomas Churchyard, translating and amplifying Van Meteren.

to escape notice of all who take literally the courtly compliments of Camden as to the Queen, without recollecting that Camden himself disclaimed any desire to "pry into Princes' purposes"; and also that only some State Papers, and not this confidential correspondence, came within his knowledge.

Leicester, on a visit to Stoneleigh in Warwickshire,—having wrenched his foot by a fall of his horse,—was compelled to "more rest" than he liked. Thus it happened that he was writing when he would have preferred to speak in reply to Burghley's and Mr. Secretary's letters telling him "that her Majesty is in good inclination to help the Low Countries," and that they both thought she meant him to be employed to that end. "Surely, my Lord, for mine own part, I am most ready to serve her, especially in any service where I may set my life in hazard for her safety." But he dreaded her vacillation, and wished to be reassured, "*that her Majesty will take this matter (if she will deal withal) even to the heart, as a cause that doth concern both her life and State. For if her Majesty be not persuaded and fully resolved that the cause is of other importance than as it were to make a show and become only a Scarecrow, it were better never enter into it.*"

If she meant to proceed, it should be made apparent that the men who undertook this "dangerous service" would not have "as little thanks as if they stayed at home."

"I speake it not without some cause. Therefore, the half winning of this matter before-hand must be *her Majesty's undoubted and comfortable countenance that she doth mean to deal thoroughly and princely . . .* Then, no doubt, she shall see new heart spring up again, and need not care for loss of Antwerp, for surely it will come again, and the rest withal, if her Majesty so deal.

"Thus much, my good Lord, I thought good to say, knowing by Mr Secretary that ye have of late said and dealt further than I am able to advise; and that *ye know my whole mind touching this action*, having wished well in respect of avoiding further danger to her Majesty and the realm."¹

Not dictated to a secretary but written in his own hand, this is manifestly confidential. Burghley docketed it, "Erle of Lecester his consent to serve the Queen in the Low Countrey."² But it was one thing to be willing to serve the Queen, and another to find her ready. Some previous delays had been for diplomatic pur-

¹ "I will here make an end, with request that, if her Majesty command my service, I may have your good will for my cousin, Sir Thomas Cecil, to have his company." Dated "From Mr. Lees, at Stoneley, this 28th August." He adds, "I pray you, if you find her disposition to employ me, procure me her resolute pleasure known as soon as may be." Orig: Holog: *Hatfield MS. Cal. Vol. III. (1889). No. 192, p. 108.* Anonymous "Advices from England, 19th September, 1585," (Cal. S.P. Spanish, III. p. 547) allege "great disagreements between the Earl of Leicester and the Lord Treasurer Cecil" (meaning Burghley, whose peerage dated from 1571). The terms of trust and esteem upon which Burghley and Leicester stood are shown in E.E. from their own correspondence.

² "Serve the Queen," be it observed; not serve the Government." When modern histories habitually substitute the present term "the Government" for the Elizabethan phrase "the Imperial Crown" or "Her Majesty's will and pleasure," they change more than a word. (We will in due course treat of the drawbacks of absolutism, as demonstrated through the correspondence of men immediately concerned).

poses;¹ but it was to nobody's advantage except that of Spain that Her Majesty continued her procrastination as to the terms of Leicester's Commission; or even hesitated whether she would commission him at all.² This uncertainty affected the affairs of Sir Philip Sidney, whom Leicester intended to take with him or send ahead of him to Flushing; but who, according to Fulke Greville, had an entirely different intention.

Whereas in the 20th century the King of England commands "the gates of the World," (and English people have become so accustomed to British occupation of Gibraltar, Malta, and Cyprus; and to see the Union Jack flying over India, Ceylon, Canada, Newfoundland, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, etc., that they accept these advantages like the air they breathe), Elizabethan England possessed nothing but home ports. Despite Camden's retrospective rhetoric, Elizabeth was not "Queen and Mistress of the Seas."

Although Sir Philip Sidney, shortly before his marriage, had transferred to Sir George Peckham his large shares in Sir Humphrey Gilbert's venture, he had not abandoned his own and Gilbert's conviction of the need for other permanent English settlements, especially in parts of the world where English colonists might be able to dispute the Spanish lordship of the Ocean Sea.

Nowadays, in current English History, Spain is imagined as insufficiently provided with ships and seamen at the very time when King Philip himself had drawn up minute Naval Instructions, and had commissioned as Captain-General (Lord High Admiral) the victor of St. Michael's and of Terceira.³ Assuming a moribund Spain, and a dominating English Navy, Sidney's present admirers are uncertain why he need have meditated exiling himself from the Court and departing with the "pirate" Drake. But that Drake was not a pirate, and that his enterprises were no mere independent commercial speculations, but part of the essential fabric of English warfare and the State, readers of the present History will by now have realised.

According to Fulke Greville, who was to have accompanied him, Sidney had meant to command jointly with Drake a conquest and "plantation." The expeditions to America fitted out by Raleigh in 1584 and 1585 were not on a large enough scale to trouble King Philip or to give any immediate strength to England: and Sir Humphrey Gilbert's death on his way home from annexing Newfoundland in 1583 had delayed the expected development of these regions.

In 1585 the contrast between the enormous Empires of Spain and Portugal united under one Crown, and the half an island of Queen Elizabeth—with Ireland more of a "charge" than a help,—goaded English ambition with a sharp spur of necessity.

¹ See E.E. Vol. V, pp. 293-294.

² In E.E. Vol. VI, 19-21, his Commission is for the first time translated from the original Latin.

³ First published, E.E. Vol. V, pp. 186-187; 199-203.

A letter from Ralph Lane, Governor of Virginia, invokes Sir Philip Sidney as the most desirable leader for the next and largest venture;¹ and Greville explains that Sidney's idea of "Planting upon the Main of America" was to capture and "possess Nombre de Dios, or some other haven near unto it," as a "Rendez-vous for supply or retreat of an Army upon all occasions." Sidney hoped for a fleet from the Low Countries to "assist and second the ships of his Sovereign"; and he had "won 30 gentlemen of great bloud and state here in England, every man to sell one hundred pounds land, to second and countenance this first Fleet with a stronger

"This new intended Plantation" was not to be "an Asylum for fugitives, or a *Bellum Piraticum for Banditi*, . . . but as an Emporium for . . . all nations that love or profess any kinde of vertue, or Commerce"

After eulogising the project in his most exalted manner, Greville admits that "the word *gold*" was a magnet "to make men venture that which they have, in hope to grow rich by that which they have not."²

The point now apt to be missed is that Drake's expedition in the "*Elizabeth Bonaventure*" in 1585-1586, and Leicester's appointment to command in the Low Countries were both parts of the struggle against King Philip; and acts of aggression by Drake were on the ancient principle that the best defence is attack.

King Philip's aspiration to include England among Spanish possessions was no secret;³ and, since the dismissal of the Ambassador Mendoza, all pretence at amity had disappeared. Therefore to talk nowadays of Drake and Sidney as if in 1585 they had been a pair of headstrong boys, bent on an illicit frolic, is utterly to misconceive the persons and the circumstances.⁴

Greville, writing long afterwards, implies a doubt whether Drake really wished to have Sidney with him as joint-Commander.⁵ But, in any case, firm opposition to Sidney's departure is likely to have come from Lord Leicester, who had made up his mind to have his nephew's help in the Low Country labours.

¹ 12 Aug: 1585. Dated from Port Fernando. *Cal: S.P. Colonial*, Vol. I (1860) p. 3; Short Abstract. To the best of the present writer's recollection, the original letter refers to Sidney as prospective "General;" which to some extent bears out Fulke Greville's rendering of the intention. The State Papers Colonial are scanty for the Elizabethan era. This Calendar begins with an undated MS. circa 1574, relating to Mr. Carleile (Walsingham's stepson), and conjectured by the editor (Noel Sainsbury) to be connected with the 1573-4 petition of Sir Humphrey Gilbert and others. S.P. Dom: Eliz: XVC, 63 (Cal: p. 475); and see E.E. II, pp. 220-222; and V, ante, p. 254. The third item is a description of America, circa 1580. The previous year, Simon Fernando, "Secretary Walsingham's man," went and came from the American coast in "the little frigate" unattended. For various references to English maritime activities at this time, see *Cal: S.P. Spanish*, Vol. III, published 36 years after the above English *Cal: S.P. Colonial*, I.

² "The Life of the Renowned Sir Philip Sidney," Ch: X, (Ed: 1906, pp. 88-89).

³ See E.E. Vol. IV. p. 304.

⁴ This attitude seems to have been made popular by Zouch in 1808. (E.E. V. Ante, p. 266). But contrast it with what was written at the time, both by a citizen of London, and by the King of Spain. (E.E. pp. 281-286).

⁵ "Life of the most Renowned Sir Philip Sidney," ch: vii, pp. 55-57.

Messenger after messenger was sent to Plymouth to summon Sir Philip back. He ignored them resolutely at first. But when "a peer of the realm" (Greville does not say which) arrived from the Queen herself, there was no alternative but to obey. The prohibition extended to Greville, to his intense regret and resentment.¹

Sidney's farewell to the Fleet was a reminder that they afloat and he ashore would be engaged upon the same service: namely to confront and curtail the overweening power of Philip II.²

Thus departed "our famous Drake," whose renown (as another Devonshire man proudly proclaimed,) had already "gone forth over all the whole world": the greatness of his enterprise having "made him to be admired" even among "his mortal foes, for his valour," as a "noble English heart, never yet daunted."³

Such was the tribute paid at the time to "the right worshipful Sir Frauncis Drake Knight, *General of her Maiesties Navy*," whose rank as in sole command both of troops and fleet was known from the highest to the lowest; but whose destination was a secret, whether from his "loving countreymen" or from the vigilant emissaries of the "Leviathan" of Spain.

"Set forwarde, noble minde, God send thee winde at will,
With coast full cleare and weather faire, thy voyage to fulfill.

Farewell the Phenix of our age, whose acts admitt no peres.

Thy ships are launcht, thy sails are hoist, Syr Francis Drake farewell."⁴

¹ Even writing long after the events, Greville found it difficult to be reconciled to the change of plans which had sent Sidney to the Netherlands, and to death. Greville's slightly disparaging tone about Drake is that of a landsman; and of one who was both distressed and angry at being baulked of the intended experience of "conquest and plantation." Though Leicester, to console his nephew's friend, offered him in 1585 the command of 100 Horse, not even "the earnest intercession of this Grandee" could persuade the Queen to allow Greville to leave England. So he was forced to "tarry behind." ("Life of the most Renowned Sir Philip Sidney," ch. xiv, p. 109; ed. 1906).

² Ib. p. 58.

³ Henry Robarts, "To the right Worshipful and thrise renowned gentleman of our time Syr Frauncis Drake Knight, General of her Highnesse Nauie," &c., 1585.

⁴ "A most frendly farewell," &c., 1585. See E.E. App: pp. 281-283.

THE FIRE SHIPS AT ANTWERP, 1585.

Among the most interesting illustrations in Father Famianus Strada's "*De Bello Belgico*," is a diagram of the fire-ships used by the Prince of Parma at his successful siege of Antwerp in 1585. This is now reproduced, with the accompanying explanation, and the same Englished.

When the English fireships against the Armada in 1588 completed the discomfiture of the Duke of Medina-Sidonia, this use of fireships had been learnt from the adversary.

A. *Fundamentum cuniculi ex calce et lateribus, altum ped (figure uncertain) latum 5 bellico pulvere appletum.*

The bottom of the hold, spread with chalk and contained with sides, (?) feet deep and 5 wide, filled with gunpowder.

(The chalk was presumably to absorb leaks and keep the powder dry.)

B. *Parietes super fundamento lati ped 1, alti 3.*

Partitions resting on the bottom, one foot by three.

(Partitions might perhaps be rendered as "bulkheads." *One foot* is plain in the text but the sentence is perplexing. Were there several side by side at that distance?)

C. *Operimentum ex praegrandibus lapidibus.* A covering of very large stones.

(The hold covered by large stones is clearly shown in the drawing. Over this is a roof.)

D. *Tectum ex similibus quoque saxis acuminatum.*

A covering in the form of a roof with a ridge, also formed of similar stones.

E. *Tecti camera ferreis marmoreisque globis et catenis et molaribus constipatum.*

The chamber formed by this roof crammed with iron and marble [cannon] balls, chains and mill-stones.

F. *Quadrati lapides cuniculi latera arte firmantes.* Square stones supporting securely the sides [of the hold].

G. *Tabulatum navis cuniculum oculatans et incendium praeferens.* The deck of the ship with an opening leading to the hold and fire coming from it.

H. *Cuniculus sub tabulato navis.* The hold under the deck of the ship.

I. *Velum prae grande subter medium nauem obligatum, et a cursu fluminis inflatum . . . ac navem pertrahens.* A very large sail fastened under the ship, inflated by the tide . . . and drawing the ship.

“THE PHENIX OF OUR AGE”:

“Sir Frauncis Drake Knight, Generall of hir Majesties Navie,” 1585.

When we would see the leaders of men as they appeared to those who knew them, the popular poetry of their day can often be our passport. Of the “Farewell” to Drake, written and printed in 1585, only two copies are known to survive: one formerly at Britwell Court but now in America, and the other in the Cathedral Library at Lincoln. From the latter a facsimile was printed in 1924 by the Harvard University Press.¹

In regard to Drake it is desirable to ascertain, (1st) his relations with the Crown, or the chief Minister of the Crown; (2nd) how he was regarded unofficially by sympathisers; and (3rd) what the adversary thought of his doings.

The first had not been satisfactorily elucidated until the present writer examined (and quoted in extenso), Lord Burghley’s “Considerations” for placing Drake in command of a “very great *and royal* war” in 1581.²

Of the second, this “Farewell” by Henry Robarts, citizen of London, is an example³. The 3rd we shall see from King Philip’s correspondence. (E.E. pp. 285-286).

The historical interest of Robarts’s “Farewell” turns on two points, not mentioned by the editor: (1st) Showing that Drake was publicly recognised in 1585 as commanding not a mere mercantile adventure, but an expedition commissioned by the Crown. And (2nd) that the intended destination was kept so secret that even the eager Robarts could only describe the fleet as “bound to the Southward.”

“To the Right Worshipful and thrice Renowned gentleman of our time Syr Frauncis Drake, Knight, Generall of her Highnesse Nauie,” Robarts offered his “simple gift”:

“seeing none of the learned sort have undertaken” it,—“I being the unworthiest, yet the most willing, was lothe, good Knight, that you should depart our Englishe coastes without some remembury to be published in prayse both of your worshippe, and the rest of your Gentleman followers in your noble exploit . . .”

¹ “A most friendly farewell, Gien by a wellwiller to the right worshipful Sir Frauncis Drake Knight, Generall of her Maiesties Navy, which be appointed for this his honourable voyage, and the rest of the fleet bound to the Southward, & to all the Gentlemen his followers, and captaينes in this exploite, who set sale from Wolwich the xv. day of July 1585. Wherein is briefly touched his perils passed on his last daungerous voyage, with an Incouragement to all his saylers and souldiers, to be forward in this honourable exploite. Published by Henry Robarts of London Citizen.” (Woodcut of mediaeval ship and voyages). “Imprinted at London by Walter Mantell and Thomas Lawe.” (1924). 755 copies. Ed: Canon E. H. Blackie, B.A., Chaplain to H.M. The King. B.M. 116262. f.11.

² E.E. Vol. IV (1934). A discovery which reveals Burghley’s character (Vide “The Mariner’s Mirror,” April, 1935, and “Journal of the Royal United Service Institution,” Feb: 1936).

³ The editor of the reprint, Canon Blackie, quoting D.N.B., says that the author of the farewell “may be identical with Henrie Robarts who was one of the ‘Sworne Esquires’ of Queen Elizabeth” and acted as her envoy to Muley Hamet “Emperor of Morocco,” in 1585. (Hakluyt *Principal Navigations* ed: 1589. pp. 237-239). But if Henry Robarts of the “Farewell” had been an Esquire, he would so have described himself on his title page; not merely as “citizen” of London. Therefore perhaps the envoy to Morocco (whose correspondence we will consider later), who sealed his letters with armorial insignia, may have been a son of Henry Robarts in London, and may have been given a coat of arms in reward for services performed.

To all his warriors and scamen honour is due; but most of all to Drake himself, "whose service for Countrey hath benc such as never English gentleman or other hath achieved but you, . . . most valiant and fortunate Syr Fancis Drake, that with such honour and willingness vndertaketh our princes service, . . . would my abilitie were answerable to my wil, then should thy honourable name live eternally amongst us men on the earth."

Again rebuking the learned for being so "unthankfull" as not to have invoked their various arts to eternise Drake's deeds,—Robarts "adventured, though simply" to let Englishmen "understand of your Worships departure to the Seas"; that all might recognise "the valour that is harboured in your noble heart; and pray with me for your happy returne."¹

"Worthy Syr Francis Drake, that hath so nobly adventured in many calamities three whole yeres, continuing at fortunes hazard, eftsoones likely to be drenched in the raging floudes; and then in danger of unknownen rocks; besides many other perilles incident to sea faring wightes;" such as "falling into the handes of your professed mortall foes which daily awaited your returne."

"Yet all this can nothing daunt his worthy heart," nor "dismay him at all: For the Lorde which is most gracious in all his workes hath left you here among us as a mirrour for our countrymen to looke into: by your example to moove others to the attempting of the like enterprises.

"Many other Gentlemen there be in this our lande, but I know fewe that will undertake the like, or none at all that can with skill so well performe it . . . the heart that is armed with courage never dreadeth ought, though he can see death before him."

Praying again for a safe return to be "his countreys comforte and the joy of all his well willers," Robarts predicts that Drake's "noble name" will be "*registered in the books of everlasting memorie: that thy famous deeds may not rest unrewarded, or els we might be accompted the most ungrateful countreymen living . . .*"

" . . . the desire of honour and not of wealth doeth moove him, . . . to do his countrey good: For it is well knownen unto you, that he hath all things" he can desire; "yet leaveth all, his good Ladie, with all his familie² and friendes, to betake him selfe to the hazard of fortune, in many perilles which be so infinite, that it is almost impossible to name them."

That "our good Generall" is going forth "with part of the Princes Navie," is a sign how great is "her favour" towards him. With him goes "a company of gallant Gentlemen: when I shall knowe them by name, I will to my power so paint them, that their friends in their absence shall joy to heare of them . . ."

Ignorant people "mutteringly" ask why gentlefolks who could live in comfort at home, need care to go to sea?

" . . . When with great peril they have most valiantly atchieved," noble deeds, the "enviousness" of some of "our countreymen is such as they disdaine to give them the honour they have gained for their right," especially to "Sir Humphrey Gylbert, whose valour deserved thankes . . . the which they be lothe to bestowe upon him."³

It was in England's cause that Gilbert had "shortened his life. His actions were such as your worship, I knowe, can witness to be honourable." It would be "great pity" if "his valiant name

¹ End of 1st Epistle, printed in italics. Followed by one in blackletter, *supra*; the original of which is set without any divisions into paragraphs. Also a full stop is rare. The above paragraphing and punctuation are the present writer's.

² Brothers. He had no surviving children by either his first or second wife.

³ "They" being some of the disappointed "adventurers" (share-holders), see E.E. IV. pp. 276-277; such as Edward Haies, whose sour remarks are usually paraphrased to-day, instead of quoting Sir Humphrey's own letter to Peckham from Newfoundland; E.E. IV. p. 267-268.

died with his body: without some remembrance whereby his children hereafter might reap the reward of their father's fame, and by his good actions be encouraged to imitate his ways."

Robarts, "borne in Devonshire where your worship was," felt the more anxiety as to Drake's future because of the tragedy of Gilbert, lost with all hands, in the Azorean tempests two years before.¹

Though the verses are of scant literary value, hardly above the level of a street ballad, the interest of their theme keeps them alive.

"When many a thousand live at home, and slept with quiet ease,
Great pains abroad our Knight endured with perils on the seas."

"What should I say but this of him, his deeds deserve so well,
That of all others that I know, Syr Francis bears the bell.
For Bountie sure he doth exceede to those that doe deserve,
And feeds the hungry naked soules which els were like to sterue.

A mirrour of a worthy minde fraught full of curtesie."

As to the "noble valiant Gentlemen" accompanying him,—

"dastards use at home to stay, and there will sit and talk,
When you in many a forren soile in danger daily walke.
But nothing can dismay your minds, your noble hearts to try,
And idle drones which fear to fight, you doe them all defie.
Your generall a valiant Knight was never daunted yet,
But bravely made his foes recoile, when face to face they met."

There is a separate "farewell to the saylers and souldiers," who are exhorted to

"agree in unitie, and love one with another,
And join your selves in amitie as brother with his brother.
For in this cause you are as one, though many soules you be."²

They can go forth cheerfully under such a leader, remembering how he treated those who were with him in his previous voyages: "he dealt with them so bountiful, and gave them such large pay."

"A very lambe unto his frends, as every tongue can tell,
But unto such that it deserve, he is both fierce and fell.
You know the valour of the man is more than I can say,
Then feare not harts, but venture on, and please him al you may.

¹E.E. Vol. IV, p. 276. The distress of Henry Robarts at the "unthankfulness" of such landsmen as grudged renown to those who spent their fortunes for the public good and ventured their lives abroad, is far more applicable now; when the latest Oxford volume on "*The Reign of Queen Elizabeth*," 1936, dismisses Gilbert with a contemptuous phrase,—which it is more merciful not to repeat, as we hope it may disappear from later editions. This, or other injustices to the great constructive minds of that time, could be amended after reading "*Elizabethan England*," a free set of which was claimed by the Bodleian Library (as also by Cambridge University Library) in 1934 under the Copyright Act. The history lecturers can therefore, without cost or fatigue, reap the fruits of labours to which the present writer has devoted a lifetime *pro utilitate hominum*. While British students are mistakenly led to underrate the Elizabethan seamen, the maritime spirit of our race lacks its full inspiration. This deficiency tends to lower our honour abroad and imperil our security at home. The times do not make the men; it is the men who make the times; a fundamental truth well understood by Queen Elizabeth's champions and ministers; and by King Philip (who in the 1936 History is not the Spanish Philip, but the English academic Philip).

²Compare Cabot's instructions to Sir Hugh Willoughby's men in Edward VI's day. E.E. Vol. I. p. 83.

And in your fighting evermore thinke you are Englishmen,
Then every one of you I hope will slay of Spaniards ten:
Or any els what ere they be that shall disturbe your peace."

"God and S. Georg(e), you worthy wights, proceed triumphantly,
In Princes cause let no one quail, but all courageous be:

Serve God, obey your governor, and him both love and feare,
You are commanded so my friends, *your Princes charge you bear.*"

Here we have the emphasis upon the expedition as by royal command, which is overlooked by all in our day who insist on regarding the famous deeds prior to 1588 as "unlawfully begotten."¹

¹ See E.E. Vol. I, pp. 181-182.

DRAKE'S DESTINATION UNKNOWN TO KING PHILIP.

Extracts from Mendoza's Correspondence with his Sovereign, April to October, 1585.

On the 5th April, 1585, Don Bernardino de Mendoza, from Paris, wrote to tell King Philip that "Raleigh's ships" had gone to Plymouth.¹

He added a rumour that Drake was less assiduous now in his preparations, and that it was alleged he would not be going with the Queen's Commission, but only Don Antonio's.² (Observe that Mendoza was well aware it was no "piracy" but a commissioned enterprise).

Such news as Mendoza could procure was from a Spanish merchant, Pedro de Zubiaur, who had sent a spy to Plymouth to ascertain the "quality of the ships, men, and stores."³

In May, he still believed Drake meant "to meet your Majesty's Indian flotilla."

When the Queen raised new Companies of Foot, Mendoza could not learn if they were intended for Holland, or "to help the Prince of Bearn" (Spanish title for Henry of Navarre, whose kingdom Philip II considered should belong entirely to Spain).⁴

Subsequently Mendoza reported the despatching of English troops to aid the "Dutch rebels"; and he reiterated that Drake had "sailed from the West Country with some ships of the fleet to meet the Indian flotillas belonging to your Majesty."

"All advices concur in the fact of his sailing, but they differ in the number of his ships; some say thirty, whilst the smallest number mentioned is 12, two of which belong to the queen . . .

"I cannot obtain positive information, in consequence of the loss of Pedro de Zubiaur," who had been taken to prison.⁵ "The Queen, not satisfied with arresting the principal Catholics, has disarmed the whole of them throughout the country . . . The Earl of Northumberland, who was a prisoner in the Tower, has killed himself, according to the account written by Secretary Walsingham . . . This is very hard to believe . . ." (Mendoza thought it more likely he had been murdered).⁶

This letter crossed one from King Philip asking "whether Drake's or any other fleet has sailed, . . ." and "what effect was produced on the Queen and her Council by the seizure of English ships and property in Biscay and Guipuzcoa."⁷

"Letters from England dated 17th [August] report that on the 13th Colonel Norris was at Gravesend making ready the ships that were to carry over his 4000 men to Zeeland, whilst Drake was lying at anchor off the Isle of Wight with 24 well-armed ships." His "intentions were unknown."⁸

"If, on the 16th of August, Drake was still at Plymouth, as you report," wrote King Philip to Mendoza, "perhaps he will not do so much harm this year as he threatened."⁹ But writing again on the same day, the King added, "The number of ships that have left England seems very large; and you will in future try to have people in the English ports who, from their own observation, will be able to report to you what armaments are being prepared; in time for the information to arrive here soon enough for the necessary precautions to be taken . . ."¹⁰

¹ Those commanded by Grenville. E.E. ante, p. 253. ² Cal: S.P. Spanish, III, p. 535. ³ Ib:

⁴ Ib: p. 537. ⁵ Ib: p. 534, p. 539. ⁶ Ib: p. 542. And see E.E. V. App: p. 287. ⁷ Ib: p. 543.

⁸ Unsigned advices from England. N.D. (August? 1585). Ib: p. 543. As to Norris, Mendoza on 11 Sept. (p. 545) gives Norris's force as 2000 with 4000 to follow; further news (p. 546).

⁹ 6 September. Ib: p. 544 (number misprinted 44). ¹⁰ Ib:

Mendoza protested, "Since they arrested Pedro de Zubiaur in England I have endeavoured by every possible means" to obtain information; "but they so constantly open letters in the ports that no foreigner will dare to undertake the task; . . . and such Englishmen as might be willing were "for the most part in prison . . ."¹

It was being said in Paris that Drake would make a raid on Portugal, taking Dom Antonio.² But, according to a letter received by the English Ambassador from Lord Burghley's son, Antonio was still at Drake's house in Devonshire, and with him was Sir Philip Sidney. Sidney had not been sent by the Queen officially to welcome Dom Antonio; but had left the Court in disgust "in consequence of the Queen's having refused him the Governorship of Flushing . . .". Cecil's letter stated Drake to have "about 30 ships and 4000 men, soldiers and sailors together; and that Dom Antonio had written to the Queen saying that in order to bear company with Philip Sidney he wished to embark; . . . whereat" (adds Mendoza), "she scoffed greatly . . . From this it may be concluded that the going of Don Antonio in the fleet was not with the Queen's connivance."

A Portuguese spy whom Mendoza calls "Sanson" (of whom more hereafter) conjectured that if "Dom Antonio goes with him, Drake will most likely go to the coast of Brazil." But Mendoza now thought the season too late for any important enterprise: "the English people being unable to suffer hardships at sea."³ (This unjust statement, by a landsman, is no worse than what is asserted by many English 19th and 20th century writers about 16th century seamen of Spain).

On 17th October, Mendoza wrote to the King that it had been "false news" as to Antonio accompanying Drake; but that Drake himself "weighed anchor in Plymouth at nightfall on the 27th September," (17 English style,) "and all the next day and at dawn the day after, he was still in sight of the land, becalmed." The following day he arrived at Falmouth. The weather had been perfectly fine, but without wind. "Since then there have been furious westerly gales, which will certainly have driven him back to the English coast, unless he made for Ireland . . .

"It was asserted here [in Paris] as a positive fact that he had returned . . .

"Up to the present, however, there is no certain news, except that there has been a strong gale blowing dead against his course, and this has also prevented letters coming from England.

"I send your Majesty herewith an exact account of the ships Drake has, and the stores, munitions, and men, . . . which report was furnished to me by a trustworthy Frenchman . . . I sent him to England for this purpose, months ago, and he made friends with Drake," and volunteered to accompany the expedition. Before it sailed, he gave Drake "the slip; but could not come hither,—all the ports being rigidly closed,—until M. de la Mauvissière" [the French Ambassador,] "crossed over on his return from his embassy . . . I feared the man was dead or a prisoner, and consequently did not venture to tell your Majesty I had sent him."⁴

The point of great interest is that not even the ingenuity of Spanish spies, nor potency of Spanish gold, sufficed on this occasion to purchase for King Philip the desired news as to Drake's destination. Hence the success of the surprise attack; to which we will recur, after following the fortunes of Sidney, Leicester, and the troops fighting against Spain in the Netherlands.

Even two months after Drake's departure, King Philip (29 Dec.)⁵ could only say that Mendoza's tidings of Drake tallied with the report he had himself received from Galicia,

"where, the daring of his attempt was greater than the damage . . . We have no certain information about him since he left the Galician coast . . . You will use the utmost diligence in obtaining very frequent and trustworthy news from England, which you will transmit to me continually."

¹ Ib: p. 549. ² Ib: 8 Oct. ³ Ib: p. 550. ⁴ Ib: p. 551. ⁵ Ib: p. 553.

"HIR MAJESTIES HIGH INDIGNATION":

*The Mystery of Henry, Earl of Northumberland, 1585.*¹

On the 21st of June, 1585, the Earl of Northumberland—prisoner in the Tower for suspected complicity in Mendoza's plot,—was found mortally wounded. Murdered, said an informant of Mendoza.² Slain by his own hand, said the official announcement; and to this day it is disputed which is the truth. The author of "*The House of Percy*," 1902, classed the suicide story as a "government subterfuge" to distract attention from Sir Christopher Hatton; whom he supposed to be the assassin, on the strength of a retrospective hint by Sir Walter Raleigh, in a private letter written when Hatton could not have contradicted him,—being nearly nine years dead.³

Representing the standpoint of Queen Elizabeth's Councillors, Holinshed's *Chronicle* answered a rumour that Northumberland had been kept in such close quarters "with such penurie of aire and breath, that thereby he grew sicklie and wearie of his life." He "had the libertie of five large chambers," some of them looking out on "two faire gardens within the Tower wall, and upon the Tower wharfe, with a pleasant prospect to the Thames, and to the countrie more than five miles beyond." The windows were of "a verie large proportion."⁴

In that *Chronicle* (as issued in 1586-7), Northumberland is depicted as having reason to dread "Hir Majesties high indignation," because at Petworth, (his Sussex home,) he had secretly received Lord Paget and Charles Paget. Both active adherents of Mary Queen of Scots, and pensioners of Spain, they had come into England in disguise, in connection with a project which, in its final results, will be treated in Vol. VI.

Brenan, in 1902, saw no motive for suicide. But Northumberland had a large family. If he had been arraigned and found guilty, this, under the law, would have exposed him to forfeiture of estates as well as life; and his children would have been deprived of his hereditary wealth and honours (unless by a special Act of Grace of the Queen, as for the Duke of Norfolk's children). But whereas an arraignment would have meant a disaster involving the whole family, if he could die before the charge was publicly made, or sentence of High Treason could be pronounced, this meant that the Percy children's inheritance would be saved.

Evidently Mendoza's assertion to King Philip, that he could count on the Earl of Northumberland for 3,000 troops to join the invaders,⁵ was not known to the historian of "*The House of Percy*."

As Mendoza occasionally put on his list the names of noblemen who themselves denied complicity with Spain—for instance Philip, Earl of Arundel,—it would be of interest to discover evidence which might either confirm or refute Mendoza's statement. Nothing of the sort can be found at Alnwick; but in a letter to Mary Queen of Scots from her devoted adherent Thomas Morgan, the Duke of Guise, the Bishop of Glasgow, and the Earl of Northumberland are classed together as her firm adherents.⁶ This also escaped the notice of the author of "*The House of Percy*."

It is not explained by believers in the murder charge, why Hatton should have wanted to assassinate a prisoner who, if brought to trial, would most probably have ended on Tower Hill by lawful sentence. But whatsoever the dealings of the 8th Earl of Northumberland with Spain,—the Spanish plot, which had already brought Francis Throckmorton to the scaffold, should not be ignored or belittled; for there are more than enough MSS. to show its reality, in the correspondence of King Philip himself.

¹ Born circa 1533. Knighted by Queen Mary; Governor of Tynemouth for her; and for Queen Elizabeth. (Married to Katherine Neville, the eldest coheiress of Lord Latimer, whose second daughter was the wife of Sir Thomas Cecil, Lord Burghley's eldest son). General of the Light Horse in Elizabeth's first war, E.E. Vol. I. p. 172. Permitted by the Queen to succeed to the Northumberland title and estates, after the forfeiture of his brother the 7th Earl for leading the Northern Rising. Though the 8th Earl fell under suspicion in 1571-2, he was subsequently restored to favour; and acted as Crown Commissioner for the breeding of horses in Sussex for Defence of the Realm. See "*A History of the House of Percy From the earliest times to the present century*. By Gerald Brenan. Edited by W. A. Lindsay, Esqre., K.C., M.A. (*Windsor Herald*). London, 1902, Vol. II. pp. 1-30. (See Ib: Vol. I, Table ii, for the Percy pedigree).

² Cal: S.P.S. Vol. III, p. 542. Fr. Parsons uncertain whether suicide. C.R.S. vol. IV, p. 99.

³ Brenan, *House of Percy*, II, p. 24, p. 29, states the murder is established by Raleigh "a matter of history"; but the letter he quotes (facsimile in E.E. forthcoming under date) also asserts that Burghley was the "contriver of Norfolk's ruin"; whereas we know that Burghley was Norfolk's friend, and chosen by him as adopted father for the Howard children. See E.E. Vol. II. pp. 127, 136, 137.

⁴ Vol. IV, pp. 602-615. ⁵ See E.E. Vol. V, p. 33. ⁶ *State Papers*, Murdin, (1759), p. 446.

THE DECLARATION OF HENRY OF NAVARRE:
10 August, 1585.

The year of Pope Sixtus's election,—and of Drake sailing to attack King Philip's American dominions, and Leicester being named from the Low Countries as the leader most desired,—also brought intensification of the clash between the Huguenot King of Navarre and the Catholic Duke of Guise.

King Henry's feelings are best seen in the Declaration which he and the Prince de Condé and François Duc de Montmorenci launched against the House of Lorraine.¹ Rebuking the Duke of Guise and his party, "who under the name of the Holy League, have begun to arm against His Majesty," (Henry III, Queen Elizabeth's one-time suitor); they adjured "*ce qu'il y a de bons François en France*" not to increase the internal troubles of the country. "*La Royne Mere*" (Catherine de Medici) was asked to consider whether the ambitious Princes of Lorraine were her true friends? And "*ledit Seigneur Roy de Navarre, ledit Seigneur Prince, et ledit Seigneur Duc*" pointed out how much misery "*la guerre domestique*" must entail. They desired "*bonne paix*." But if reasonable terms of peace were frustrated by the faction of Lorraine, then the King of Navarre and his supporters would request all men to judge if there could be a cause "*more natural, more necessary, more just*" than theirs; reduced as they are to a choice only between "*la ruyne de l'estat ou une defence legitime et necessaire*."

They claimed "*que Dieu benira leurs justes armes, et fera tomber sur les auteurs de ceste ligue (l'auteurs de nos miseres) la ruyne qu'ils pretendent du Roy et de toute sa maison et son estat.*"

With these words ends the Declaration now often attributed to the pen of Sir Philip Sidney's friend Philippe de Mornay, Sieur Duplessis.

The conspicuous position attained by Sidney is indicated by his being chosen as the personage to whom the translation was dedicated by a Frenchman living in England:

" . . . I have thought good . . . to present the same to your worships view: knowing that both you and all the worthie English Knights touched with like godley zeale, . . . will with the balance of a ripe and sound judgment, consider and favour th' equity of the cause, as it shall please th' almighty to put into your noble and generous heartes . . ."²

Pope Sixtus inevitably took an entirely different view, and excommunicated the King of Navarre, in whose affairs Elizabethan England was to become more and more concerned.

¹ "*A St. Paul de Cap de jour le X d'Aoust, 1585*": "*Declaration et Protestation du Roy de Navarre, de Monsieur le Prince de Conde, et Monsieur le Duc de Montmorenci: sur la Paix faictte avec ceux de la maison de Lorraine chefs et principaux auteurs de la ligue, au prejudice du maison de France.*"

"*Imprime a Bergerac MDLXXXV*": and translation "*Declaratio ac Protestatio Regis Navarrai*" etc., etc. "*Bergeraci*" (same date;) each 27½ pp. of text.

² To "the right worshipful Sir Philip Sidney, Knight" from "Your worships most humble to command Claudio Hollyband": "*The Declaration of the King of Navarre, touching the slanders published against him in the protestations of those of the league that are rysen up in armes in the Realme of Fraunce. With privilege. Freely translated into English according to the French copie. Printed at London, by John Charlewood, dwelling in Barbican at the sign of the half Eagle and the Keys. 1585.*" (B.M. 8052. aa. 22).

APPENDIX

"A DECLARATION OF THE CAVSES MOVING THE QUEENE OF ENGLAND
TO GIVE AIDE TO DEFENCE OF THE PEOPLE AFFLICTED AND OPPRESSED IN
THE LOW COUNTRIES."¹

"First it is to be understande . . . that there hath beene, time out of minde, even by the natural situation of those low Countries and our Realme of Englande, one directly opposite to the other, . . . a continuall traffique and commerce betwixt the people of Englande, and the naturall people of those low Countries, and so continued in all ancient times By which mutuall Bondes . . . from age to age the same mutuall love hath beene inviolable kept"

The Treaties and transactions embodying this alliance are then recapitulated; and the Queen deplores that King Philip alienated his subjects in the Netherlands by appointing "foreigners and strangers" for their chief governors, "contrary to the ancient lawes"; while "great plentie" remained "of noble, valiant and faithfull persons" of native birth who might reasonably be employed to bear rule for him over their own countrymen.² Though at first the troubles arose from difference of Religion, this was not all; for King Philip "spared not to deprive very many Catholiques . . . none was in the whole country more affected to that religion than was the noble and valiant Countie of Egmond," whose victories on behalf of the King of Spain "true histories" will not forget, while the tragedy of his execution "should be for ever lamented . . .".³

The "rich towns and strong places" are now "kept chiefly with force" by King Philip's armies.

"For these urgent causes," the Queen declares, "we have by many friendly messages and Ambassadours, by many letters and writings to the said King of Spayne our brother and allie, declared our compassion of this so evill and cruel usage of his naturall and loyall people by sundrie his martiall governors . . . all strangers."

She had in the past "often and againe most friendly" warned King Philip that his subjects would be driven to seek the protection of some other over-Lord, unless he would treat them more mercifully. And "in this present yeere" the French King would have received them into his protection, had not certain "untimely and unlooked for complottes of the house of Guyse, stirred and maintained by money out of Spayne, disturbed the good and generall peace of France."

Her Majesty declares that her loans of money to the United Provinces have been "upon the earnest request of sundrie of the greatest persons . . . in those countries, and most obedient subjects to the King, such as were the Duke of Ascot⁴ and the Marques of Hauery⁵ yet living, and of such others as had principall offices in those countries in the time of the Emperour Charles."

She touches upon "*The enterprise of the Spaniardes in Ireland sent by the king of Spayne*

¹ "Imprinted at London by Christopher Barker, Printer to the Queenes most excellent Maiestie." Date 1585 in colophon. Sm. 4to. rom: pp. 1-20, and 1-5. (Reprinted in *Continuation of Holinshed's Chronicle*, 1586; and again in *Lord Sotmers's Tracts*, ed: Walter Scott, Vol. I. p. 410 et seq.)

² The same complaint was made in 1568 and onwards by the Prince of Orange, E.E. Vol. II, p. 4.

³ See E.E. Vol. I, pp. 123-125, and Vol. II, pp. 11-12, 15.

⁴ Usually spelt by the English "Aerschott"; and Spanish, Arcos.

⁵ Havrecht.

and the Pope" with the intention to prepare the way for "*other greater forces to attempt the conquest thereof.*"¹

Despite this danger to "our selfe, our countries and people," she had long persisted in her "friendly" attempts to reconcile King Philip and his subjects. But "his officers in Spayne offered daily greater injuries to ours resorting thither for traffique; yea, *they of his counsell in Spayne, woulde not permit our express messenger with our letters to come to the King their masters presence: a matter very strange, and against the lawe of nations . . .* Although wee could not have, these many yeeres past, any of our servants whome we sent at sundrie times as our Ambassadours to the King our good brother, . . . suffered to continue there without many injuries and indignities, . . . so as they were constrained to leave their places, and some expelled, . . . without cause given by them: . . . yet We, minding to continue very good friendship with the king . . . did of long time . . . give favourable allowance to all that came as his Ambassadours to us, saving only upon manifest dangerous practices attempted by two of them to trouble our estate: whereof the one was Girald Despes, a very turbulent spirited person . . . The other and last was Bernardin de Mendoza, one whome we did accept and use with great favour . . . as was manifestly scene in our Court, and wee think cannot be denied by him . . ."

Yet he had been in secret an encourager of "our evil disposed and seditious subjects, not only to such as lurked in our Realme, but also to such as fled the same, being notoriously condemned as open Rebelles and Traitors: with whom by his letters, messages, and secret counsels hee did in the ende devise how, with a power of men, partly to come out of Spayne, partly out of the low Countries, . . . an invasion might be made into our Realme, setting down in wrighting . . . how the same should be done, and with what numbers of men and shippes, and upon what coastes, portes and places . . . and who the persons should be that should favour this Invasion and take part with the Invaders . . ."

All this being discovered, it had been necessary to request Don Bernardino de Mendoza to depart the realm. But "we granted him favourable conduct both to the sea and over the sea"; and sent a messenger with letters to the King of Spain,—who would not receive the envoy.

" . . . Hereupon . . . no reasonable person can blame us, if we have disposed ourselves to change our former course, . . . finding our own dangers in deed very great and imminent"; and seeing "*the general disposition of al our own faithful people*" to be "*very ready in this case, and earnest in offering to us both in Parliaments and otherwise their services with their bodies and blood, and their aides with their landes an goods . . .*"²

Then follows a recapitulation of the troubles stirred up by the House of Guise, intending "to have proceeded to a warre by way of Scotland, for the conquest of our Crowne for their niece the Queene of Scots."

Queen Elizabeth claimed to have "restored peace" to Scotland. With no reference to holding the Queen of Scots a prisoner, she states that the relations between the two countries are better than "can be remembered these manie hundred yeeres . . ."³

Finally, she wishes persons abroad to understand that in consequence of repeated requests made to her from Holland, Zeeland, Guelders and the other provinces united with them,—they being "desperate of the King of Spaynes favours,"—she, in consideration of the danger also to England from the ambitions of Spain, "did therefore . . . after long deliberation determine to

¹ In 1580. E.E. IV, pp. 65-74.

² Vide The Instrument for the preservation of Her Majesty's Royal Person. Ante E.E. Vol. V, pp. 206-207.

³ See her League, E.E. Vol. V, pp. 293-294.

sende certaine companies and souldiers" to defend her allies and their towns against "sacking and desolation."

"And though our further intention also is or may be to take into our garde some few townes upon the sea side next opposite to our realme, . . . we have no meaning . . . to take and retaine the same to our owne proper use."

Her "princely policie" was to hold such towns for sure access for English soldiers, while rendering assistance to the Netherlands, "in their great calamities, miseries and imminent daunger: . . ." which assistance and defence "are the very onely true ends of all our actions, . . . howsoever malitious tongues may utter their cankered conceits to the contrary" in a world abounding in "blasphemous reportes in writings, and infamous libels" inspired by the Devil in his efforts to prevent "Christian peace."

Next comes "*An Addition to the Declaration Touching the slauders published of her Majesty*":

"After we had finished our declaration, there came to our hands a Pamphlet written in Italian, printed at Milan, entitled *Nuovo aduiso*, directed to the Archbishop of Milan . . . in which we found ourselves . . . charged with two notable crimes, . . . most repugnant and contrary to our owne natural inclination." The first was ingratitude to the King of Spain, "who (as the authour saith) saved our life, being justly by sentence adjudged to death in our sisters time. The other that there were some persons procured . . . that the life of the Prince of Parma should be taken away." And to this last, "this horrible lie," it is further added that God brought the intending murderers to justice.

To the first charge the Queen answers that she remembered herself as "bholding" to the King of Spain in her late sister's time, and had since endeavoured in many ways to requite her obligations; but she "utterlie denies" as "a most manifest untruthe, that ever he was the cause of the saving of our life as a person by course of Justice sentenced unto death." For she had carried herself dutifully to her sister, and no such sentence had ever been pronounced upon her.¹

As to the accusation of attempts against the life of the Prince of Parma: "we could never learne that he hath at any time, by acte or speache, done anything that might justly breed a mislike in us, . . ." much less a murderous hatred. On the contrary, she had an "honourable conceit" of him, "in respect of those singular rare partes we alwaies have noted in him." And though he was now in command of the wars in the Low Countries, that was no cause for wishing his death. Taking away his life would not end the war. Nor was there need to wish for the removal of one who had "dealt in more honourable and gracious sort . . . than any other that had ever gone before him, or is likely to succeed him."

"The best course therefore that both we and all other Princes can holde in this unfortunate age that overfloweth with numbers of malignant spirits, is through the grace and goodness of Almighty God to direct our course in such sort" as to give no reason for evil speech: "assuring ourselves that besides the punishment that such wicked and infamous libellors shall receive at the handes of the Almighty, for depraving of Princes and lawfull magistrates who are God's ministers," libellers are and "always shall be" regarded by "all good men" as "unworthie to live upon the face of the earth."²

¹ No sentence. But she had been imprisoned. See E.E. Vol. I, p. 59.

² "Given at Richmount the first of October, 1585 and the 27 yecre of the reigne of our Souveraigne Lady the Queene, to be published."

NOTE: SUGGESTED "ENGLISH COLONYES" IN IRELAND, 1585.

While much is written on and around the subject of Virginia,—the small expeditions of 1584 and 1585 being retrospectively enlarged in popular imagination,—it is seldom remembered that William Murdin found among Lord Burghley's MSS and printed in 1759 (*State Papers* pp. 545-547) a memo dated 21st December, 1585, "*For the Transporting of Som English Colonyes into the Parts of Ireland, whereby not only that Countrie may be repeopled, and her Maiestie be served with assured Subjects, but also her Highness Revenews may be restored, and the English live here well and safely . . .*"

Far from rogues and vagabonds being selected, the primary condition was that "Men of Credit and Honour be persuaded to like well of the Enterprise; . . . making choice of younger Sons or Brothers of Gentlemen," taking with them "the abler Sort of Yeomen, being their own Farmer(s) or Neighbours." The colonists would be likely to agree best if all drawn from one county, especially if already of "good alliance amongst themselves."

It is not specified what "parts of Ireland" were intended to be planted; but Ireland then was called "foreign" by Englishmen; and to settle there in 1585 was more of an adventure than to emigrate from London to Australia or South Africa circa 1860.

These Elizabethan colonists were not to be exposed to any avoidable squalour or misery, but were to be well provided with "Men servants and Maid servants," good stores of food; plenty of cattle; "Seed of sundry sorts of Corn and Grayn"; apparel, bedding, and "all manner of Household Stuff." There were to be artificers and workmen for building houses; and until the houses were ready, "tents, cabins, and other defences against the weather."

Nine parishes were to consist of eight villages and one market town in the centre; and a parsonage, vicarage, and windmills. Choice was to be made of suitable positions for the farm-houses and cottages, "as well in respect of the Fertility of the Soyle, . . . as also in regard of some natural Defences." Equipment and arms for Horsemen and Footmen, in Bands and Companies of Hundreds, were to be provided by the "Gentlemen, Farmers, Freeholders," and "cottagers." But "Her Majesties Garrison of Soldiers" was to be maintained at her cost, for the first two years, upon the frontiers or at any place where attack might be anticipated from the native Irish kerns and gallowglasses.

As to English attempts to govern Ireland, if the whole story were to be told from 1553 to 1623, this History would need to be in twenty volumes instead of ten. But there are yet to be published in "*Elizabethan England*" maps, sketches, and documents bearing upon some of the most crucial happenings in the relations of Ireland with Spain: when the issues were not merely local, but of European significance.

APPENDIX.

SCOTCH "BAND AGAINST PAPISTS AND FOR THE LEAGUE WITH ENGLAND."

Anglo-Scotish Dealings in 1585.

While on one hand Queen Mary's supporters were hoping to make her son a Catholic, that he might be assisted by Pope Sixtus, her adversaries of "the nobilitie and estates" in Scotland were combining for the opposite purpose, and for the concluding of a league "betwene King James the sext our soverane," and "his dearest sister the queene of England."¹

To the Secretary of State for Scotland, Queen Elizabeth's Principal Secretary, Walsingham, ("From the Courte at Greenwich this XIth of July 1585,") wrote of the need that the French League be met with "some counter-league and union; whereof her Majesty my Sovereign hath an especial care," having of late sent Ministers to "the Princes of Germany." They had "coldly" received her previous suggestions, but might now be more ready to take measures for "the common defence." And "it will behove us that are inward ministers about our princes . . . to carry a watchful eye" for the prevention of intrigues threatening "divorce" between England and Scotland.²

Lord Leicester wrote to Maitland in the same vein, emphasising the "friendship" between "my mistress and your master."³ At St. Andrews soon afterwards there was formulated the Protestant "Band" against the "devices of great Princes and Potentates in Europe" combined "in conspiracy and league," etcetera.⁴

In the midst of these negotiations, the eldest son of the Earl of Bedford was slain in a brawl on the Scottish Border (27th July); for which "unhappy accident" Maitland expressed regret, as well he might.⁵

The new league was to be closer than any heretofore between England and Scotland.⁶ It was offensive and defensive against all invaders, irrespective of previous leagues or friendships with them. Queen Elizabeth and King James mutually undertook that neither should "directly or indirectly" give "aid, counsel, advice or support" to any Prince or State that might invade the dominions of the other.

¹ "Articles of a treaty to be made between the Queen of England and the King of Scotland for a more straight League than hath been heretofore betwene any the princes their progenitors." Cal: S.P.S. Vol. VIII, No. 43. Also copy, Warrender MSS (Vol. B.344), *Warrender Papers*, Vol. I, (1931) pp. 192-194.

² "Your assured frende to commaund Fra: Walsingham." To the Rt. Hon. Sir John Maitland, etc. Secretary "of the Estate of Scotland." Draft calendared 27 April in Cal. S.P.S. VII. No. 589; but orig: (1 p.) is in *Warrender Papers* (Vol. B.347) Vol. I. 1931, pp. 186-187.

³ "At the Court, this 28 of July 1585. Your very loving frened, R. Leycester." Orig: *Warrender Papers*, (A. 183) Vol. I. (1931) pp. 187-189. They had never met, and this was Leicester's first letter to Maitland. Observe that the phrase "very loving frened" in Elizabethan English meant little more than "Yours very truly" of to-day.

⁴ Acts of Parliament of Scotland, Record Series; and Calderwood, "History of the Kirk of Scotland," Woodrow Soc: 1843-49; Vol. IV, pp. 375-377; and (copy) *Warrender Papers* (Vol. A. f. 218) 1931, Vol. I. pp. 189-191. See also for negotiations in 1585, Teulet, "Papiers d'Etat relatifs à l'Histoire de l'Ecosse au XVIth siècle," Bannatyne Club, 1852; and Cal: S.P.S. Vol. VII.

⁵ Cal. S.P.S. VIII. 47; and *Warrender Papers*, I, pp. 191-192.

⁶ 31 July. "Articles of a treaty to be made betwene the Queen of England and the King of Scotland" etc. Cal: S.P.S. VIII. 43; and Copy, *Warrender Papers*, (B. 344) Vol. I pp. 192-194.

If England were invaded, the King of Scots was to supply 2000 Horse and 500 Foot if required; and if Scotland were invaded, the Queen of England would furnish 3000 Horse and 6000 Foot. If Ireland were invaded, King James was to prohibit his subjects in Argyll and the Outer Isles from "repairing thither"; and if they acted "in hostile sort" they were to be denounced by him as rebels.

It was proposed that all disputes as to the Scottish Border should be dealt with by Commissioners for both their Majesties; and neither Sovereign was to enter into any league to the modification of the present treaty, without the consent of the other.

It is frequently said that Queen Elizabeth refused to name her successor till she was on her death-bed, which so far as the public was concerned, is true; but in the treaty of 1585 the Scots Commissioners specified "that the said Queen shall no ways" act to the prejudice of the King of Scots' title, "*or at any tyme give declaration of any other to succeed his Majestie in his Crown and realms*" (of England and Ireland); and manifestly James (next after his mother) was the rightful heir.

For the better amity of the English and Scots, any and all of either nation were to rank as "free denizens" of the other. Nor was either Sovereign to shelter adversaries or rebels against the other.

If we carry all this in mind from now onwards to the tragedy at Fotheringhay, we shall see how ill-founded were the hopes of Thomas Morgan and Charles Paget, that after Lord Leicester's departure to the Low Country war, with the flower of the English Army, England would be open to attack from or via Scotland.

The murdered Lord Russell was brother to Leicester's sister-in-law, the Countess of Warwick; but the family recognised that King James was in no way responsible for the crime; and it was from one of Warwick's houses that Leicester wrote assuring James of his readiness to do him all such service as was consistent with duty to Queen Elizabeth.¹

James would have liked his succession to the Crown of England to be ratified in both Houses of Parliament. No such action was ever to be allowed by Queen Elizabeth; and we shall see in later volumes the anxiety about the succession which arose from time to time among her subjects. But it is needless now to linger over minor details of the negotiations with Scotland; if when following the course of events outside the British Isles, we never forget that England (in anticipation of a Spanish invasion,) had taken care to guard against any attempted alliance between Philip II and James VI.²

¹ "From Northall a howse of my brother of Warwyke, one very affectionate to doe you service, this 12 of August 1585." Orig. *Warrender Papers* (A. 187), Vol. I, pp. 197-198. See also Ib: pp. 200-202, "Advyses," signed "James Rex."

² The editors of "*The Warrender Papers*" (1931) in their list of relevant Calendars etc. do not include either the *Documentos inéditos* or the English Calendar of Spanish State Papers (at Simancas) ed. Hume, 1896. The modern English scholastic custom of losing sight of 16th century Spain, then the chief power in Europe and the largest Empire in the New World, is exemplified in this omission from an otherwise very carefully edited work.

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¹ The General Index can only be compiled after the whole of this History has been set up in type. Meanwhile occasional Chronological Notes, with page references, will be convenient. The dates of the month in this History are those of the English style except where otherwise indicated. If Pope Gregory's alteration of the Calendar, 15th October 1582, is not borne in mind, it would seem like a clerical error that whereas the Prince of Orange was assassinated on the 10th July, 1584, the news reached England on 6th July. But by English reckoning the foreign 10th of July remained the 1st of July. In reading MSS in which *stilo nostro* is sometimes abbreviated to *nro* and looks as if meant for *novo*, much care is necessary in transcribing. Also, confusion arises if the student forgets that the year began on 25th March, even though the 1st January was still celebrated at the Court as New Years Day; but that each *regnal* year of Elizabeth began on 17th November, her accession day.

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1585. 22nd October. Commission of Lord Leicester signed as Captain General to command Queen Elizabeth's Army for the Netherlands: the Navy to be under his orders	19
November. Sir Philip Sidney appointed Governor of Flushing; and the Earl of Essex, General of the Horse	34
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1585(6). 3rd libel against Lord Leicester: "Flores Calvinistici"; signed by Julius Brieger; published in Naples, with license, while Leicester was Governor General of the United Provinces	169

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"TO THE COMFORTE OF ALL YOUNG SCHOLLERS":

Some Popular Translations of the Classics, c. 1570-1585.

When all cultured persons, including the Queen and other studious ladies, read Latin, and she and some of them knew Greek, translations of the classics were not intended for the learned, but for the "simple."¹

1570 "Thabridgment of the Histories of Trogus Pompeius." New edition; and in 1578. (First published 1564, see E.E., Vol. I, p. 258).

1571 "Tho. Hill his pleasant Art of interpretatio of dreames," etc. (Reprinted 1576).

(1572) Euripides. "Iocasta." Translated by George Gascoyne and Francis Kinvelmershe. Also 1575.

1572 "The fourre booke of Flavius Vegetius Renatus. . . . Martiall policye, feates of Chiualrie. . . . " etc. Iohn Sadler.²

1573 "Xenophon's treatise of householde. Translated from Greek into English by Gentian Hervet." (Previous editions, 1532, 1537, 1544, 1557.)

1574 "Galen's booke of Elementes." Translated by "Iohn Iones, Phisition."

1572 Dionysius. "The Surveye of the World, or Situation of the Earth, so muche as is inhabited," etc., etc. "Also of the Seas," etc., etc. "englisched by Thomas Twine, Gent."

1575 "Flouvers or eloquent phrases of the Latine speach," from the six Comedies of Terence, by Nicholas Vdall and Iohn Higgins.

1575 "The Bucolikes of Publius Virgilius Maro," etc. Translated by "Abraham Fleming, Student."

1576 Aelianus (Claudius). "A Registre of Hystories, conteining Martiall exploites of worthy warriours, Politique practises of Civil Magistrates, wise Sentences of famous Philosophers. . . . Written in Greeke. . . ." Translated by Abraham Fleming.

1577 "Anthologica Graeca." 61 translations, by Timothy Kendall in "Flowers of Epigrammes," (Dedic: to the Earl of Leicester. See E.E., Vol. III, p. 155.)

¹ See previous list, 1558-9 to 1569, E.E. Vol. II, p. 76. These works were mostly printed in London. They are all in the B.M. or the Bodleian. For particulars and reference numbers see "List of English Editions and Translations of Greek and Latin Classics printed before 1641. By Henrietta R. Palmer. With an Introduction by Victor Scholderer. London. Printed for the Bibliographical Society . . . December, 1911." (In alphabetical order). See also Sharman, "The Library of Mary Queen of Scots," London, 1889, for names of numerous classical works possessed by Mary in the originals; and "ane part of Plutarche in Frenche" and "Valerius Maximus in Frenche," and "the epistles of Ovid in Frenche meter," &c. In 1566, when expecting the birth of James VI, Mary made her Will and bequeathed all her Latin and Greek books to the University of St. Andrews, which was very ill equipped. The classical works in her possession included, Homer, Herodian, Herodotus, Horace, Sophocles, Demosthenes, Euripides, Xenophon, Aristotle, Plato ("Omnia Opera"), Ptolemy, Cicero, Virgil, Isocrates, Athenaeus, Lucian. See also "Miscellanies" of Maitland Club, 1834, and "Inventaires de la Royne Descosse," Bannatyne Club, 1863, from both of which Sharman's Catalogue is derived.

² "Vigetius [sic] de Re Militari" is listed among books of the Queen of Scots. (Sharman, op. cit. p. 80). This was one of the earliest and most popular military works, dating back to the 4th century; not translated into English until 1408 (Lansdowne MSS. 285. 47). It included a discourse on the Navy. See Cockle's "Bibliog. of English Military Books" (1900), pp. 16-17.

1577 "Fovvre Seuerell Treatises of M. Tullius Cicero: Conteyning his most learned and Eloquent Discourses of Frendshippe: Oldage: Paradoxes: and Scipio his Dreame." ("The worthye Booke of Old age" had been translated in 1569 by Thomas Newton.)

1578 "The worke of the excellent Philosopher Lucius Annaeus Seneca," etc. Arthur Golding.

1578 Appian. "An auncient Historie and exquisite Chronicle of the Romanes warres, both Ciuite and Foren." (Long descriptive title page: and a Continuation "till the overthrow of Antonie and Cleopatra.") Translated by W.B.

1579 "The Liues of the noble Grecians and Romanes, compared together by that graue learned Philosopher and Historiographer, Plutarke of Chaeronea: Translated out of Greeke into French by Iames Amyot, Abbot of Bellozone, Bishop of Auxerre, . . . and out of French into Englishe, by Thomas North."¹

1580 "A perfite looking Glasse for all Estates: Most excellently and eloquently set forth by the famous and learned Oratour Isocrates," etc. Thomas Forrest, translator.²

1581 "Ten booke of Homers Iliades, translated out of French, by Arthur Hall, Esquire." First English translation of Homer. Dedicated to Sir Thomas Cecil.

1584 "The Historie of Quintus Curcius, conteyning the Actes of the greate Alexander. . . ." (First ed: 1553, see E.E., Vol. I, pp. 9-13.)

1584 "The Famous Hystory of Herodotus." Preface signed B.R.

1584 "The XIII Bookes of Æneidos," by "Thomas Phaër, Esquire," and "Thomas Twyne, Doctor in Physicke."

1584 "Cato construed. . . First doen in Laten and Frenche . . . and now newly englished, to the conforte of all yong Schollers."

1584 "The Arte of Rhetorique for the use of all suche as are studious of Eloquence sett forth in English by Thomas Wilson." (Previous editions 1553(4), 1562, 1567 and 1585.)

1585 "The worke of Pomponius Mela . . . concerninge the Situation of the world . . . speciallie for Gentlemen, Marchants, Mariners, and Travellers, translated out of Latine by Arthur Golding, Gentleman."

¹ Brother of Roger, Lord North. It is sometimes supposed that Thomas North's Plutarch, 1579, was the first work in English to "popularise" Julius Caesar; but see E.E. vol. I, p. 277, for early translations of Caesar's Commentaries, 1530 and 1565.

² "Isocrates in Greek" was one of the works purchased by or for Robert Earl of Essex when he was ten. (E.E. Vol. III, p. 54.)

SOME SIXTEENTH CENTURY PRINTED MATTER QUOTED.

(Listed in chronological order.)

	E.E. Pages
William Thomas's "Historye of Itale," 1549 - - - - -	248-251
" " "Principal Rules of the Italian Grammar," 1548 and 1562 - - - - -	248
Riche's "Allarme to England," 1576 - - - - -	255-258
Pulton's "Abstract of all the penal Statutes," 1579 ¹ - - - - -	2
Stephen Gosson's "School of Abuse," 1579 - - - - -	49-51
" " "Ephemericdes of Phialo," 1579 - - - - -	52
Robert Hitchcock's "Politique Platt," 1580(?) - - - - -	47
"Apologia Illustrissimi Principis Willielmi," 1581 - - - - -	102
Giordano Bruno: List of works by him published in London, 1583(?) 1585 - - - - -	246
Richard Robinson's "Ancient Order, Societies, Unitie, Laudable of Prince Ariarthe," etc., 1583 - - - - -	118
Richard Harvey's "Ephemeron," 1583. dedicated to Robert Earl of Essex - - - - -	124
Escobar's "Recopilacion," Licensed 1583. published 1586 - - - - -	12-17
Stocker's translation of "Tragicall Historie of the Low Countries," 1583-4 - - - - -	111
William Elderton's "New Yorkshyre Song," 1582-1584 - - - - -	113-117
"A famous Dittie," &c., 1584 - - - - -	192-3
Bishop Lesley's "Treatise touching the Right, Title, and Interest of . . . Mary Queene of Scotland," 1584 (several editions) - - - - -	27-31
Powell's edition of ancient Welsh "History of Cambria now called Wales," 1584 - - - - -	95
Anon: libeller's "Copie of a Leter," 1584 - - - - -	141-159
" " "Vie Abominable" etc. "de my Lord de Leycester," 1585 - - - - -	142-156
Robert Green's "Planetomachia," 1585 - - - - -	161
Henry Robarts, "A most freendly Farewell," 1585 - - - - -	281-284
Julius Briege's "Flores Calvinisti," Naples, 1585(6) - - - - -	168-9
Anon: "Historie of the Cite of Antwerpe," 1586 - - - - -	259-261
Sir Philip Sidney's "Arcadia" (printed 1590; written c. 1580) - - - - -	60
John Mundy, "Songs & Psalmes," 1594 - - - - -	53
Sir Philip Sidney's "Astrophel & Stella" (piratically printed 1595, written c. 1581) - - - - -	59-61, 67-68
Edmund Spenser's "Astrophel" (Royden's contribution to it, 1595) - - - - -	79
"A Treatise Paraenetical," 1598. ² - - - - -	6

¹ Also the official "Abstract of all the Penal Laws," &c., 1662, reiterating Elizabethan Acts then still in force.

² Platina's "Lives of the Popes," (Sir Paul Rycaut's continuation,) Holinshed's *Chronicles*, Stow's *Annals*, D'Ewes' "Journals of all the Parliaments . . . of Queen Elizabeth," Strada's "De Bello Belgico," and Cardinal Bentivoglio's "Wars of Flanders," and numerous political tracts, are drawn upon.

NOTE: "THE COUNTERFEIT SEBASTIAN."

In the same year that Dom Antonio issued "The *Explanation*" of his "*Right and Tytle*," in English, Dutch, Latin, and French, as already described (E.E. Vol. IV, pp. 24, 25, 39-44)—and Sir Francis Drake was commissioned to trouble King Philip in the New World while Lord Leicester received his Sovereign's orders to confront the Spanish army in the Netherlands,—there arose in Portugal a "Counterfeit Sebastian." The masses of the people had never consoled themselves for their young King's tragic overthrow; and as nobody had seen him die, there were many who cherished a hope that he survived, a prisoner, and would escape from Barbary and come sailing up the Tagus "some misty morning," to regain his kingdom.

As afterwards described by Faria y Sousa:

"The conceit some People entertained that King Sebastian was yet living, gave Occasion to some Persons to take upon them his Name and Character [in 1585].

"The son of a Tiler, born at Alcobaza, who had been Apprentice to a small Turner of Heads, in Lisbon, expelled from the Order of Carmelites in his Noviceship, went away and lived like a Hermit, on the Borders of the Kingdom, near Albuquerque. After some time the People censing his course of Life, he left it, and putting on good Apparel, he travelled about the country well mounted.

"Some presently gave out he was King Sebastian, which he at first denied, but finding them positive, at last complied with their Humour, and suffered two of his followers to call themselves the one Christopher de Tavora, and the other the Bishop of Guarda, both which had been slain with the King in Africk.¹ Some few days they lived well . . . and gathered money, but being apprehended by Order of the Archduke Albertus, the Counterfeit Sebastian, after having been shewed at Lisbon, was sent to the Galleys, and his Companion, the pretended Bishop, hanged."

Nevertheless a second counterfeit Sebastian, the son of a mason, is said to have "gathered 800 men."

After various adventures, he also was captured; and condemned to death with his chief adherents, some of whom were hanged and others sentenced to the galley.

Despite these heavy punishments, there remained in Portugal many who "thought King Sebastian must come out of the Desart" at a destined hour.²

Another "counterfeit Sebastian" arose early in the next century; and the tradition that the King would return was passed on from generation to generation; the legend surviving among the peasants even into the nineteenth century.³

¹ See E.E. Vol. III, pp. 143, 145, n.2.

² "The History of Portugal, From the first Ages of the World, to the late great Revolution, under King John IV in the Year MDCXL. Written in Spanish by Emanuel de Faria y Sousa, Knight of the Order of Christ. Translated & Continued down to this present Year, 1698. By Capt. John Stevens. London. Printed for W. Rogers & Abel Roper, in Fleet-street; J. Harris and J. Nicholson, in Little Britain; T. Newborough, in St. Paul's Church-Yard; & T. Cockerill, in Pater-Noster Row, MD. CXCVIII." p. 367.

The original was finished in 1640. Preface. (a.3.) Supplement by Stevens 1640-98, after conversation with "Persons who were present and Eye witnesses to the Actions therein related." (a.4.)

³ For memorial portrait with symbolical accessories to indicate belief in his survival, see E.E. Vol. III, plate 26, facing p. 148.

NOTE ON THE ROYAL PORTUGUESE BIBLIOGRAPHY, 1935

The third volume of H.M. King Manuel's "*Livros Antigos Portuguezes*" is now in the hands of the subscribers. It had not been prepared by King Manuel except in selecting principal books, as explained in an Introductory Note by H.M. Queen Augusta Victoria; so it lacks H.M.'s literary and historical commentaries, which so signally added to the value and charm of the previous volumes. But "Miss Margery Withers, the King's devoted librarian, has furnished collations for all the books and has added very brief bibliographical notes. She has also chosen the illustrations, and they are such as the King himself would have wished reproduced."¹ The three volumes of this beautiful Bibliography will together form a lasting monument to the old heroic Portugal.

Mt. Aubrey F. G. Bell, in a prefatory essay, refers to King Manuel's books as "not collected for show or mainly on account of their rarity or even their beauty. The historical associations of a volume and its contents meant more to the King than its value on the market."

"It was his great pleasure to make himself master of his books and of many other books concerning them He would sit up late, night after night in his library, surrounded by all that was left to him of the country he so deeply loved The brilliant cluster of Portuguese men in every sphere of life and art during the Renaissance are presented by the King in a living gallery His memory will live nobly" as "a learned historian, a minute scholar, . . . a devoted patriot.

"The second volume saw the light in the very week of the King's death" (July, 1932) ". . . and the last words from his pen in Vol. II were, 'We have undertaken this work with only one aim; to serve our country.'"

Senhor D. Ricardo Jorge adds an eloquent tribute to "these spiritual treasures, the only ones that never deceive and never die, that sweeten life for the wise man and help him, when his last hour comes, to die a noble death.

'Dulce sapienti vivere
Nec sane acerbum est mori.'

"It was under this sign that King Manuel lived and died in exile He had a constant longing for good and rare books" like that of "his noble ancestors the *altos infantes*,"

Emphasising the "inclusiveness" of the collection, Mr. Stanley Morison (who contributes a third appreciation,) judges King Manuel's feeling for his library to have been not merely scholastic, but "moral and even religious." H.M.'s aim was "to re-create, not to embalm."

He disliked dictating, and wrote all the commentaries for Vols. I-II in his own hand. (A facsimile page is given, with his corrections.) His Majesty's "attitude towards his library was that of a scientific explorer, determined to make it possible for others rightly to estimate the old literature of his native and beloved country."²

¹ H.M. Queen Augusta Victoria's Preface to "*Livros Antigos Portuguezes 1489-1600 Da Biblioteca de Sua Magestade Fidelissima Descriptos por S.M. El-Rei D. Manuel em tres volumes III 1570-1600 E Supplemento 1500-1597. Impresso na imprensa da Universidade de Cambridge e publicado por Maggs Bros. Londres 1935.*" With English translation.

² For quotations, See *Eliz: England*, Vol. II, pp. 107, 114,n.7; 115,n.6; 144,n.3; 190.

NOTES ON THE HISTORICAL CONFERENCE OF 1936.

At the Anglo-American Conference of Historians held in London, July, 1936, reference was made to Mr. Seymour de Ricci's List of all the printed Catalogues of MSS. in Great Britain, public and private. This is to be "arranged under places of deposit"; and, when available, should be a signal aid to students wishing to explore the vast wealth of materials which have been gradually made accessible.

It was further announced that the promised *Guide to the Historical Publications of Societies of England and Wales* is nearing completion, and is to appear in 1937, in two volumes.

The Conference, under separate headings, dealt with Mediaeval History, Diplomatic History, Parliamentary History, Economic History, Colonial History, Local History. But not Ecclesiastical History. Neither do Maritime and Military History appear on the list of sections; though the success of diplomatic measures, ancient or modern, however courtly and urbane the language, has generally depended upon the degree of national strength—especially of sea-power—believed to be behind the negotiators.

Sections at the Conference also treated of "Historical Relations between Europe and the American Continents"; Slavonic History; and Oriental History. But except in connection with America, Spain did not figure on the schedule. And in the List of English and foreign personages not officially represented at the Conference but commended as "interested in the study of History," we see several foreigners little known (as yet) to renown; but the name of the Duke of Alba is conspicuously absent: though he was in London all the while the Conference was sitting. The present historian would remind all English and American students that it is nearly thirty years since the Duke began his series of publications (See E.E., Vol. IV, p. 2, for quotations from the first, viz.: "*Correspondencia de Gutierre Gomez de Fuensalida, Embajador . . . (1496-1509)*"; and E.E., Vol. V, Addenda, extracts from the 2 volume *Catálogo de Documentos inéditos*, 1930-31, produced under his auspices.) His work in relation to the Hispanic Society of America; his aid to the Instituto de Valencia de Don Juan; his founding of the Hispano-Ingles Society; his labours as Director of the Academy of History of Spain, and as President of the Board of the Prado Gallery,—also the Hon. Degree he received at Oxford in 1935,—should be kept in remembrance.¹ But though

¹ The following letter by Sir Frederic G. Kenyon, G.B.E., K.C.B., (former Director of the British Museum,) to "The Times" of 6th August, 1936, headed "*Archives of the House of Alba*," may be of permanent interest to the readers of "*Elizabethan England*":

"Sir,—It is reported (I know not with what truth) that the Spanish Government have appointed a committee to take over the papers and other treasures belonging to the Duke of Alba in the Palacio de Liria, and to distribute them to various museums. It is much to be hoped that the report is untrue. To break up archives and collections which form so great a part of the history and cultural record of the nation as those of the House of Alba would be an irretrievable loss to Spain and a blot on its reputation which all friends of the country would deplore, and which all students of Spanish history would condemn. The services of the present Duke of Alba to the history and antiquities of his country are recognised throughout the civilized world, and lie outside the sphere of politics. But this is no question of politics; it is a question of the cultural assets and intellectual reputation of the nation. I should add that this letter is written without the knowledge of, or communication with, the Duke, and in the interests of our common civilization. I am, Sir, yours faithfully, FREDERIC G. KENYON."

his mother began so long ago as 1891 to publish *Documentos Escogidos* from the Alba collection, and seven years later issued at a nominal price the beautiful illustrated *Catálogo* of the MSS. at the Palacio de Liria, and presented both to the British Museum and other English institutions, the author of "*Elizabethan England*" is the first English historian who has made use of these materials.

The imperfect comprehension of Spain has not been due to inaccessibility of Spanish MSS. It is rather from lack of recognition of the need for historic justice to that Power upon whose Empire while Philip II was King the sun never set; but which it is an established convention of English Modern History to deprecate.¹

Though there has been in the 19th and 20th centuries an increasingly wide extension of facilities for the study of history, specialism cannot achieve such constructive results as ensue from the co-ordination by one mind of many allied subjects. The men of the 16th century expected history to enable them to feel as if they had "travelled in all ages" and been "conversant with all affairs"² and to them the chief use of "humane learning" was as a means to develop "soundness of judgment."³

Modern specialism may be accurate within its chosen limits and yet give a misleading general impression. For example, there was published in London in 1930 (ed: A. V. Judges) a quarto volume on "*The Elizabethan Underworld*," bringing together many narratives, satirical and otherwise, of "vagabonds, thieves, rogues, and cozeners," and every sort of low knave. From this, the public might be tempted to assume that a large proportion of the Elizabethan populace were cynical ruffians. But far more representative of the "common sorte" was the gallant gunner Job Hortop (whose fortitude and fidelity we have seen in E.E., Vol. I, p. 305); and from a selection of street ballads we can form a clearer idea of the people of England than from specialising in vice and crime.

The power of example was understood both by high and low; and when Sir Humphrey Gilbert aspired to found "a most notable Academy," he inculcated that "all the noble exploits that ever were or are to be" performed, should be "continually kept in fresh remembrance": and that history, theology, cosmography, cartography, seamanship, martial exercises, mathematics, heraldry, music, medicine, and ancient and modern languages should be so taught as to enable every pupil to understand and practise "Chevallrie, Policy, and Philosophie."

Sir Humphrey's plan for co-ordination of arts and sciences is deserving of attention in all its details (see E.E., Vol. II, pp. 209-220). Himself educated at Oxford, he saw where the existing system could be improved.

What we now call "economics" are the results of numerous factors, hereditary and

¹ Mr. Aubrey F. G. Bell remonstrated in his "*Notes on the Spanish Renaissance*" (*Revue Hispanique*, 1930); and in his "*Luis de Leon*" 1925 (p. 13) he remarked that "Even the Cambridge Modern History declares that 'Spain was definitely on the side of those forces which were reacting against the liberal studies of the Renaissance'; 'Greek learning did not prosper in the Peninsula' (vol. i, *The Renaissance*, p. 578). It would be possible to fill a chapter with similar quotations, in which 'the ignorance of Spain' bears a meaning quite different from that intended by the authors."

Formerly an official in the British Museum, Aubrey Bell is a scholar well known in Spain and Portugal; he was especially praised by the late King Manuel. But his name is yet another omission from the aforementioned list.

² Haywarde, "*The First Part of the Life and Reign of King Henrie the IIII*," 1599.

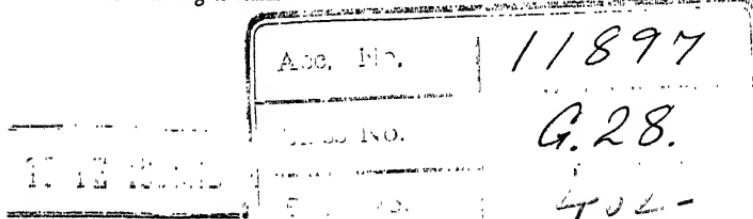
³ E.E., Vol. I. p. xxxii.

individual, geographical, climatic and legal. We need to be on our guard against trying to separate moral and material progress. Success or failure depends on elements not always ostensibly "economic." Constructive minds have over and over again enabled small nations to become great; while paltry minds can reduce a vast empire to confusion, decline, and disintegration. If a race is vanquished, its gold falls to the victor. Upon matters of trade and agriculture there will yet be much to say. But that successful English "economics" depended primarily upon the maintenance of the fisheries and other sea services, no Elizabethan was allowed to forget.

The absence of any section for Marine History at the Anglo-American Conference of 1936 is the more unexpected, in that the new National Maritime Museum in the old Royal Palace at Greenwich, with Professor Geoffrey Callendar as Director, is one of the most remarkable achievements of our time.

We must look forward to Historical Conferences at which the progress of nations, and the causes for maintenance or loss of their traditional characteristics and possessions would be the central theme.

"Elizabethan England"—in which nothing rests upon the author's personal or hereditary preferences or opinions, but everything upon direct evidence,—is the pioneer of a system which may ultimately become universal. Meanwhile, promptly welcomed by the *Academia de la Historia de España*, it seems to have created some consternation among such English minds as prefer to reiterate "authorised" modern views,—rather than expand their outlook to see the 16th century restored to its original proportions, with Spain as the "great Lion"; which Elizabethans might hate or fight, but from which in matters of "arts and arms" they were not unwilling to learn.¹



¹ Grievous tidings, that "the Palacio de Liria is ablaze," arrived just as these proofs were undergoing their fourth re-reading; 18th November, 1936. The extent of the damage (and exactly how the fire originated) is not yet known even to the Duke of Alba (who received the news in London). An attempted rescue of pictures and tapestries is alleged in the press; but nothing said as to the MSS, the most extensive hereditary collection possessed by any one nobleman in the world. Representing a number of ancient families, whose vigorous deeds formed an integral part of the history of mediaeval and renaissance Spain, the Duke of Alba's papers ranged from A.D. 1026 (40 years before the Norman Conquest of England). They afforded not only a pageant of Spanish life and enterprise, but were (or should have been) of universal interest, to all minds ready to remember that the pioneer achievements of civilised mankind owed nothing to mechanism and everything to individual initiative, endeavour, patience and perseverance.

Though precise information as to the losses at Liria is not yet available, all lovers of antiquity and of the Fine Arts should doubly deplore the disaster; in that the Duke of Alba and his mother before him were always willing to show these treasures to sincere seekers after truth, for the advancement of scholarship whether in their own or any other nation.



Printed for the Author
At the Sign of the Dove with the Griffin
at Royal Leamington Spa
in the County of Warwick

MCMXXXVI